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JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1906

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The Forum

JULY, 1906.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

President Roosevelt has announced emphatically and unequivocally that he will not, in any sense, be a candidate for renomination, nor will he accept such renomination even if it should be tendered him. Eliminating his name, therefore, from the list of Presidential possibilities, the most interesting and significant fact in American politics to-day is that he is advancing his party to a position which will make it very difficult for any one to be nominated and elected who is not a man of like calibre and character. If the rank and file of the Republican party follows the President — and there is every reason to believe that it is with him most enthusiastically — the next national platform of the party will be the most aggressive ever known in the history of the organization, and the nominee must necessarily be a man of courage and determination.

It is worth while to consider for a moment the policies to which the Republican party stands committed through the energy and moral bravery of President Roosevelt. It is due to him, and to him alone, that effective initiative was taken in the matter of governmental regulation of railroad rates. The most important legislation enacted in many years is the rate bill. It stands to-day a monument to the persistency, the foresight, and the courage of the President; and even Senator Tillman, a rockribbed, uncompromising Democrat, does not withhold the credit that is justly due.

This measure is, however, only the beginning, and not the end, of Mr. Roosevelt's advanced action. He is attacking trusts and huge corporate combinations whenever and wherever it can be shown that they are inimi-

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cal to the common welfare. For instance, only a few weeks ago suit was instituted at Indianapolis against what is known as the Drug trust. The parties to this combination include the Proprietary Association of America, the National Wholesale Druggists' Association, and the National Association of Retail Druggists. In a statement issued to the public by Attorney-General Moody, with the approval of the President, these associations are characterized as a conspiracy, formed for the ultimate object of fixing the price which shall be observed by all retail druggists in selling to the consumer the various commodities manufactured by the several members of the proprietary associations, any druggist who fails to maintain these prices being placed upon a blacklist and deprived of the right to purchase the articles in question.

President Roosevelt does not hesitate, either, boldly to attack the gigantic Standard Oil Trust, denouncing it in a message to Congress as an outlaw in trade, asserting that it has profited immensely by secret railroad rates, and has by unfair or unlawful means crushed competition. He states that the benefits enjoyed by this monopoly through secret railroad rates has amounted to $750,000 a year; that in New England alone the consumers have been compelled to pay from $300,000 to $400,000 a year more for oil than would be the case if competition were not denied. He points out, also, that the Sugar trust, another great and powerful monopoly, "rarely, if ever, pays the lawful rate for transportation, and is thus improperly, and probably unlawfully, favored at the expense of its competitors and the general public."

And to demonstrate that the attack upon the trusts is being made all along the line, this paragraph of the President's message may be quoted:

> The Department of Justice will take up the question of instituting prosecutions in at least certain of the cases. But it is most desirable to enact into law the bill introduced by Senator Knox to correct the interpretation of the immunity decision rendered in Judge Humphrey's decision. The hands of the Government have been greatly strengthened in securing an effective remedy by the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the case instituted by the Government against the Tobacco trust, which decision permits the Government to examine the books and records of any corporation engaged in interstate commerce; and by the recent conviction and punishment of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad and certain of its officers.

Nor does the chapter end here. The Interstate Commerce commission, acting under an order of Congress, which may be said to be a reflection of the President's own determined position, is investigating charges against the Standard Oil Company that it has corrupted railroad employees and agents of independent oil companies, that it has dishonestly procured leases, and that it is guilty of giving short measure. Equally important is the exposé of the inside operations of the great coal-carrying roads, an

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inquiry which was preceded by a formal statement from the Attorney-General, in which the administration made known its purpose to ascertain all possible facts relating to the transportation and sale of coal in interstate commerce; and also, through special attorneys appointed for the purpose, to discover whether legal proceedings should be instituted. In other words, the President thus made known his desire to examine closely into the operations of the anthracite and bituminous coal trusts, while one of the special attorneys is Charles E. Hughes, a possible candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in New York State. The disclosures already made are likely to have considerable political effect. In addition to this, the Department of Justice has also instituted proceedings against the great monopoly of the Southern States, the Fertilizer trust; and that these proceedings might not suffer from possible delay, the President, acting upon the suggestion of the Attorney-General, vetoed a bill changing the time for holding the United States District Court of Tennessee.

And, last of all, the President, aroused by the exposure of conditions surrounding the handling of beef, had an investigation made by trusted agents, with the result that the Senate instantly passed a measure which provides for more rigid governmental inspection, and the House will undoubtedly agree to the proposed law in some form. The President's action has aroused the intense hostility of the Beef Trust, even as he incensed the Standard Oil trust, but this antagonism helps him rather than hurts him with the great mass of the people.

It might naturally be concluded that with these offensive operations against practically all of the great monopolies the President might rest content. Such is not the case. He sees other enormities which must be blasted away by the dynamite of executive and legislative power. He proposes, in addition to the other weighty matters on his hands, to take up the cudgels for a tax upon inheritances, and for governmental supervision of corporations doing an interstate business. His remarks upon these topics, uttered at the laying of the corner-stone of the new office building for the House of Representatives, are worth repeating. He said:

> It is important to this people to grapple with the problems connected with the massing of enormous fortunes, and the use of those fortunes, both corporate and individual, in business. We should discriminate in the sharpest way between fortunes well won and fortunes ill won; between those gained as an incident to performing great services to the community as a whole, and those gained in evil fashion by keeping just within the limits of mere law-honesty. Of course, no amount of charity in spending such fortunes in any way compensates for misconduct in making them. As a matter of personal conviction, and without pretending to discuss the details or formulate the system, I feel that we shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes, beyond

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a certain amount, either given in life or devised or bequeathed upon death to any individual — a tax so framed as to put it out of the power of the owner of one of these enormous fortunes to hand on more than a certain amount to any one individual; the tax, of course, to be imposed by the national and not the State government. Such taxation should, of course, be aimed merely at the inheritance or transmission in their entirety of those fortunes swollen beyond all healthy limits.

Again, the national government must in some form exercise supervision over corporations engaged in interstate business — and all large corporations are engaged in interstate business — whether by license or otherwise, so as to permit us to deal with the far-reaching evils of overcapitalization. This year we are making a beginning in the direction of serious effort to settle some of these economic problems by the railway rate legislation. Such legislation, if so framed, as I am sure it will be, as to secure definite and tangible results, will amount to something of itself; and it will amount to a great deal more in so far as it is taken as a first step in the direction of a policy of superintendence and control over corporate wealth engaged in interstate commerce, this superintendence and control not to be exercised in a spirit of malevolence toward the men who have created the wealth, but with the firm purpose both to do justice to them and to see that they in their turn do justice to the public at large.

President Roosevelt is doing more to break down the intrenchments of the all-powerful trusts than any of his predecessors. More than this, he has accomplished greater results than the liveliest imagination could have predicted when he entered upon his office. He is not fighting single-handed. Congress is affording him much aid and comfort; and such opposition as may manifest itself proves futile. Popular sentiment is unquestionably with him.

The question is, however, what effect will his action have upon candidates and policies in 1908? Two years are yet to elapse before the assembling of the National Republican convention. During that period, it may safely be assumed, President Roosevelt, having put his hand to the plough, will not turn backward. He will pursue the same fearless, energetic course, striking down evil wherever it raises its monstrous head. Where is the man in the Republican party who will be brave enough to deal with the corporations with a mailed hand? Who will propose, advocate, and defend a tax upon inheritances? In other words, President Roosevelt, himself not a candidate, is so shaping events as to make it impossible for the Republican party to nominate anyone other than a strong, courageous, determined leader. This candidate of the future must not only be pledged to the execution of the policies to which President Roosevelt has committed the Republican party, but he must also have given evidence of his ability to carry out his pledges. And, it might be said in passing, the Democratic candidate will be weighed in the same balance.

This uncertainty as to the future reduces to the realm of speculation any observations that may be made regarding the Presidential outlook.

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There is, however, no lack of interesting gossip in political circles in Washington. The suggestion made in THE FORUM three months ago, that Speaker Cannon might well be considered a formidable candidate, if not barred by his threescore and ten years, has found ample confirmation. Much has been printed as to his availability and as to his mental and physical vigor, while in Illinois his name has been formally proposed for the nomination. The movement in Mr. Cannon's direction has not been assisted by him. On the contrary, he deprecates the talk which connects his name with the Presidency.

"The presidential bee is not buzzing in my head nor about my ears," he says, in his picturesque fashion, "and I do not expect to be afflicted by the buzzing of that insect. If, as representative and Speaker, I am able to contribute in the performance of my duties to the promotion of policies and the enactment of legislation which will bring the greatest good to the greatest number, the cup of my ambition will be full. I would rather do this than be President."

If, therefore, the people take Speaker Cannon at his word, the field is left open for the half-score of men who are certain to be in the lists. Foremost among them is William H. Taft, of Ohio, now Secretary of War. Mr. Taft possesses the rare combination of judicial temperament and executive capacity. He has, consequently, two paths before him. He can, if he so desires, accept a position next October upon the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States; or, if he believes the fates will prove propitious, he can put aside a certainty and seek the higher office of President. My judgment is that he will accept the judicial position. But in the event that Senator Foraker determines to be a candidate, a struggle for the control of the Ohio delegation would naturally result; and whether Mr. Taft would care to enter such a contest remains to be seen.

Vice-President Fairbanks is steadily growing in public favor. He is quiet, dignified, and able. Secretary Root, competent and conservative; Secretary Shaw, the modern apostle of protection; and half a dozen others, including Senators Spooner and Knox, are all being advocated by their coteries of friends. As for President Roosevelt, it is asserted that it is his desire, upon the conclusion of his presidential term, to enter the United States Senate as a Senator from the State of New York. This would appear to be a laudable ambition. Mr. Roosevelt will be only fifty years old when his term expires. He will be in the prime of life. He will bring to the Senatorship the valuable experiences of Chief Executive; he will be able to debate great questions with peculiar wisdom and insight; he will be a tower of strength to his party. It would be no derogation of his dignity to take a seat in the Senate. Other Presidents in the past have entered the National Legislature; and the political arena may still be expected to pos-

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sess attraction for Mr. Roosevelt after he shall have descended from his present high estate.

Some little interest was created by the speech of Judge Alton B. Parker at Charlotte, N. C., wherein he suggested that the next Democratic presidential nominee should come from the South. He concluded his argument by asserting that even if the Democratic party went down to defeat under the leadership of a Southern man, such result would not be worse than the experiences since 1896.

The idea is not a new one. Many years ago the "Washington Post," which has always been regarded as a fair exponent of Southern sentiment, made a similar suggestion, but at that time it was deemed premature. Even now the Southern men in Congress do not seem to regard the proposition with much enthusiasm. They insist, with a breadth of view that is greatly to be commended, that if a Southern man presents himself as a candidate, he must do so without sectional appeal. One of the advocates of a Southern candidate is Representative Burleson, of Texas.

"If we nominate a Western man," he says, "we are certain to encounter the antagonism of the East. If we name an Eastern man, he would probably suffer because of the fact that the East refused to support Mr. Bryan when he was the party's candidate. The selection of a man of sound principles from the South would wipe out the feelings engendered between the East and the West, and enable us to present a united front to the common enemy."

Mr. Burleson has in his mind's eye, probably, as the Southern man of sound principles, his fellow-citizen Senator Bailey, of Texas. There is quite a movement in behalf of Senator Bailey, whose ability is unquestioned, who has always been a conservative, and who, if nominated, could deservedly wear the laurels of Democratic leadership. It is doubtful, however, whether a Southern man will be nominated by the Democrats in 1908. There is no reason why he should not be chosen. Surely the time has passed when sectional passions can be aroused; and Judge Parker is right when he asserts that the South has borne the burden in the heat of the day without asking any of the honors. The South is peculiarly rich in available material; and yet the probability is that when the convention assembles, the South will help to nominate, and will afterward cast its overwhelming vote for, a candidate from some other section of the country.

There are some politicians in Washington who believe that Judge Parker, fearful of the nomination of either Bryan or Hearst, has sought to undo both of them by flattering the South into the presentation of a candidate. Whether this be true or not, the fact remains that if a poll be taken of the Democrats who mould the opinion of their party, the result will be a prediction that either Bryan or Hearst will be the presidential nominee.

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If, as is now asserted, Mr. Hearst proposes to run for governor of New York as an independent candidate, in the event that the State Democratic convention does not nominate him, it is not unlikely that he will poll a very large number of votes. There are some Republicans in Washington who are even willing to prophesy that he will be elected, in which case his name will be a prominent factor in the next National Democratic convention. In fact, since Mr. Hearst's phenomenal race for the mayoralty of New York, there is a disposition to accept almost any prediction made in his behalf. It would not be surprising if the two principal names before the next National Democratic convention were those of William Jennings Bryan and William Randolph Hearst. In fact, if the present movement toward Bryan continues, his name will be the only one seriously considered. The latest suggestion is that the West shall combine with the East in presenting Bryan and Hearst as the presidential and vice-presidential candidates respectively; but even if this should not be the outcome, it is significant that a very large number of Democrats, who either held aloof from their party in 1896 or who openly espoused the Republican candidates in 1900 and 1904, are now enrolling themselves under the Nebraskan's banner.

In the mean time, however, comes the Congressional campaign of 1906. The Republicans will, naturally, make every effort to retain control. They have never evaded responsibility, and they love power, and so they are already laboring for success, although many impartial observers frankly admit that it would be better for the Republicans if their hands were tied by a Democratic House during the two years preceding the Presidential election. The issue of the campaign will be tariff revision. During the present session of Congress the tariff has remained untouched. President Roosevelt contemplated some recommendations to Congress in the direction of tariff reform, but desisted in order to secure railroad-rate legislation.

Some of the members of the House, notably Mr. McCall, of Massachusetts, grew restive under this non-action. Mr. McCall wrote a formal letter to Representative Payne, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, inviting attention to the declarations of the State platform of the Massachusetts Republicans, as adopted last October, wherein the Republicans in Congress were earnestly requested to consider the tariff for the purpose of revision and readjustment. Mr. McCall also pointed out the fact that if no revision was attempted during the present session, it would be impossible during the brief period of the next session to give any consideration to the subject. Despite this appeal, Chairman Payne wrote an emphatic letter of declination. He insisted that public interests do not

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demand a change in the tariff; that a majority of the Republicans in the House do not concur in the opinion that there should be general revision of the tariff; that Congress is not prepared to review the tariff schedules in that calm, judicial frame of mind so necessary to the proper preparation of a tariff act at a time so near the coming Congressional elections; and much more to the same effect — the result being that the tariff remained untouched. This fact did not, however, relegate the tariff question to the background. On the contrary, during the general debate upon the various appropriation bills the speeches delivered upon the tariff question outnumbered those upon any other subject. These utterances were all for campaign purposes; but the fact that the tariff topic was uppermost in the minds of the partisan orators indicated the importance accorded it in the minds of those who profess to keep in touch with public sentiment.

The arguments of the stand-patters, so-called, were well expressed by Representative Landis, of Indiana, who emphasized the doctrine first enunciated by the late Mark Hanna of letting well-enough alone. Mr. Landis asserted that the Dingley bill, which is the present tariff law, had not only put money into the national treasury, but had restored industrial activity. "Would you give ear," he asked, "to free-traders masquerading in the guise of reciprocity champions and tariff revisionists at a time when the tide of hope and ambition and prosperity and glory is higher than ever before recorded in the history of civilization?" He claimed that since the Republicans had been in power they had not only overcome the Democratic problems of adversity, but they were solving the Republican problems of prosperity; and he added that the policy of the Democrats, as outlined by Representative Williams, of Mississippi, the minority leader in the House, was one which recognized mendicancy as a profession and threatened the establishment of a bureau of beggary. He contrasted present conditions with 1894, when, he asserted, all communities were taxed directly to maintain public soup houses, and were given an opportunity to pay their local treasuries, instead of having paid into the custom houses, the money that provided food and clothing and shelter.

"That was the period," he exclaimed, "when Coxey and his army of thousands marched over the hills and through the valleys to Washington to beg Congress to do something for their relief after the capacity of the local taxing officers had become exhausted. That was the period when 4,487 married men took advantage of an opportunity to earn fifty cents sawing wood in one day in New York City. That was the period when 12,000 unemployed workingmen marched to the Boston State House and demanded employment. That was the period when Boston, and Chicago, and Pittsburg, and every other large city in this republic fed, by charity, thousands and tens of thousands of hungry but idle honest men and women who were in want."

These words sound the keynote of the Republican answer to the con-

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stantly growing demand for tariff revision. Conditions may be bad, it is admitted; trusts may be flourishing, to the great disadvantage of persons who are compelled to purchase necessities of life with advancing figures when wages do not correspondingly increase; the favored few may be increasing their wealth at the expense of the many; but still it is unwise to change the existing order of things. Whether the voters of the country will agree with this view of the matter is a question which will be decided at the polls next November. In the mean time, the Democrats propose to flood the Congressional districts with facts and figures showing that the products of the protected manufacturers are being sold abroad at lower prices than they can be obtained for in the United States — not only that American steel rails are sold in Canada for twenty dollars a ton as against twenty-seven dollars on this side of the border, but that the same disproportion exists as regards watches and other every-day articles. They will show that while in 1904 the tariff plank of the Republican National convention declared that the great question of tariff readjustment could be safely intrusted to a Republican Congress and a Republican President, a Republican President has maintained absolute silence upon the subject, and the leaders of a Republican House have declared against revision.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Democrats are carefully disavowing their allegiance to absolute free-trade. Even Mr. Williams asserts that the Democratic party, if it were commissioned to revise the tariff, would be obliged to swerve from the ideal — that is, free-trade. And Representative Champ Clark, of Missouri, who was accredited in the last issue of THE FORUM with delivering a free-trade speech, courteously but vigorously denies that his deliverance could be so construed. It would seem, therefore, as if the principle of protection was not in danger, and that the only relief sought is a revision which shall correct the inequalities and the iniquities of the present schedules.

There is no doubt that the demand for tariff revision has grown exceedingly in the last two or three years; and it would seem to be the part of wisdom for the Republicans to recognize its increasing force. It is likely to be an important factor in the Congressional elections not only in Massachusetts, but in the Northwestern States. Even President Roosevelt's antagonistic attitude to the trusts will be used by the Democrats as a basis for asserting that if it were not for the high protective tariff these trusts could not have been swollen into gigantic monopolies. The Democrats honestly believe that if the Republicans do not promptly and energetically revise the tariff, the work of revision will be placed in Democratic hands; and there are many Republicans who hold the same view.

The outlook at present is, however, that the Republicans will hold firmly together upon the stand-pat policy throughout the approaching

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campaign. The complexion of the Congressional campaign committee indicates this fact; for, while there are a few revisionists in the personnel of the advisory committee, Chairman Sherman and Secretary Loudenslager and Treasurer McKinley are all in favor of the policy enunciated by Speaker Cannon and the leaders of the House. The stand-pat speeches delivered in the House will be circulated during the campaign at the rate of fully a quarter of a million copies each day. Secretary Shaw, it is well known, does not believe that tariff revision ought to be attempted until after the next Presidential election.

There is one intensely practical side to the approaching campaign, which may not interest the country at large, but which is being seriously considered by the campaign managers. This is the question of raising funds. It is quite certain that many chests which have been opened in the past will this year be closed. The officials of the insurance companies, who have been accustomed to subscribe generously, are certainly not in the mood for further contributions. One of them has already run the gauntlet of a possible indictment for larceny; while others have been put upon the rack of Congressional inquiry. For instance, Senator Bulkeley, of Connecticut, who is also the President of the Ætna Fire Insurance Company, frankly admitted before a Congressional committee, that his company had contributed $5,000 of its funds in 1896 to the Republican National Campaign committee to assist in the defeat of Mr. Bryan; and when asked by Mr. DeArmond, of Missouri, whether he regarded this action as justifiable, honest, or decent, he very promptly replied that, in his opinion, every custodian of funds of this character is justified and within his right when he takes that money and applies it to the protection of the rights of the people. "I consider," he added, "that the election of Mr. Bryan would have been a calamity."

The probing into campaign contributions by the Senate has also been urged by Mr. Tillman, who is incessant in his demand for a rigid and unsparing investigation of his repeated charges that national banks have illegally contributed to political campaign funds. Mr. Tillman's resolution now sleeps in the pigeon-holes of the Senate Committee on Finance; but the fact does not deter him from intimating that if the chairman and auditor of the Republican and Democratic National Campaign Committees be examined, some interesting facts will be disclosed. So thoroughly has public interest been aroused in connection with campaign contributions, that it is probable that Congress will be compelled, at some time in the near future, to enact the bill introduced by Representative McCall, of Massachusetts, providing that "all contributions hereafter made to political committees engaged in promoting the election of Representatives or Dele-

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gates to the Congress of the United States, or of Presidential electors, shall be reported to the clerk of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States." There is a constantly growing sentiment in favor of a public record of campaign contributions; and those who seek the proposed legislation will do everything in their power to secure favorable action. In fact, the Senate has already passed, without a single word of discussion, a bill which prohibits corporations from making money contributions in connection with political elections. This proposed statute is exceedingly drastic in its terms, which are as follows:

> That it shall be unlawful for any national bank, or any corporation organized by authority of any laws of Congress, to make a money contribution in connection with any election to any political office. It shall also be unlawful for any corporation whatever to make a money contribution in connection with any election at which Presidential or Vice-Presidential electors, or a Representative in Congress is to be voted for, or any election by any State Legislature of a United States Senator. Every corporation which shall make any contribution in violation of the foregoing provisions shall be subject to a fine not exceeding $5,000, and every officer or director of any corporation who shall consent to any contribution by the corporation in violation of the foregoing provisions shall be subject to a fine not exceeding $1,000.

Even though this law may not be enacted immediately, the fear of possible publicity may act as a deterrent upon those corporations which have been in the habit of generously contributing. This is not an agreeable outlook to the party managers, who must find the ways and means to meet the cost of the campaign. These expenses amount to a considerable sum. The printing bills are large, while vast sums are expended in placing spellbinders in the doubtful districts.

A recent episode which occurred in the White House and the Capitol cannot be ignored in a discussion of current political events, as it may have a very direct bearing on the approaching campaign. A delegation headed by Mr. Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, and including the executive council and many score of leading members of that organization, called upon President Roosevelt, Senator Frye, the president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and Speaker Cannon, to present a memorial of their grievances. They complained, in general, "of the indifferent position which the Congress of the United States has manifested toward the just, reasonable, and necessary measures which have been before it these past several years, and which particularly affect the interests of the working people," and then outlined their specific charges, which, briefly, were:

> Failure on the part of Congress to enact an effective eight-hour law.
>
> The nullification of the eight-hour law in connection with the construction of the Isthmian canal.

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The flagrant violation of the Chinese exclusion law and the proposition to invalidate that law and reverse the policy of the government in relation to the Chinese.

The proposition to make compulsory naval service a condition precedent to employment upon privately-owned vessels, as contemplated in the ship subsidy bill.

The failure of Congress to enact laws to prevent the undermanning of vessels, and especially to protect the crews of the coal barges towed upon the high seas.

The perversion of the anti-trust and interstate commerce laws so as to invade and violate the personal liberty of laborers.

The perversion of the beneficent writ of injunction so as to attack and destroy personal freedom and in a manner to hold that the employer has some property rights in the labor of the workman.

One complaint was couched in the following language:

The Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives was instituted at the demand of labor to voice its sentiments, to advocate its rights, and to protect its interests. In the past two Congresses this committee has been so organized as to make ineffectual any attempt labor has made for redress. This being the fact, in the last Congress, labor requested the Speaker to appoint on the Committee on Labor, members who, from their experience, knowledge, and sympathy, would render in this Congress such service as the committee was originally designed to perform. Not only was labor's request ignored, but the hostile make-up of the committee was accentuated.

President Roosevelt and Speaker Cannon responded to the address of the workingmen with elaborate speeches. Mr. Roosevelt, speaking with his usual candor, informed the delegation that it could defeat the anti-injunction bill if it so desired, and added that if, at any time, he thought a combination of laborers were doing wrong, he would seek an injunction against them as quickly as he would against capitalists; that conditions upon the Isthmus necessitated ignoring the eight-hour law; that there was no danger of an influx of Chinese laborers, but that he, for one, would do everything in his power to make it easy and desirable for Chinese business and professional men, travellers, and students, to come to the United States; and that good immigrants were greatly to be desired. Mr. Cannon made a speech very general in its terms, except for his denial of the criticism of the Committee on Labor, while Senator Frye simply acknowledged the receipt of the memorial.

The final paragraph of the memorial was interesting because of its intimation that if the appeal was not heeded, the Republican party might expect to encounter the antagonism of organized labor. This menace was expressed as follows:

Labor brings these grievances to your attention because you are the representatives responsible for legislation and for failure of legislation. The toilers come to you as your fellow-citizens, who, by reason of their position in life, have not only with all other citizens an equal interest in our country, but the further interest

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of being the burden-bearers, the wage-earners of America. As labor's representatives we ask you to redress these grievances, for it is in your power so to do.

Labor now appeals to you, and we trust that it may not be in vain. But if perchance you may not heed us, we shall appeal to the conscience and the support of our fellow-citizens.

There have been many political contests in this country in which the labor vote has been a prominent factor. It has frequently elected a union-labor mayor in San Francisco, the present chief executive of that city having been chosen by the organized workingmen with a plurality of about 15,000. Bridgeport, Connecticut, elected a labor mayor in a spectacular campaign; while Mayor Jones, of Toledo, owes his political success to the fact that he was regarded as the idol of the working classes. In the recent mayoralty contest in New York City, Mr. Hearst sought and obtained the support of the labor unions, whose vote constituted one of his most important political assets. In order to demonstrate that organized labor could materially affect the outcome of a campaign, the officials of the Federation of Labor announced that they represented 559 central labor unions and 121 international unions, with a voting strength of 2,500,000. They expressed their political policy in the following declaration:

That, as our efforts are centered against all forms of industrial slavery and economic wrong, we must also direct our utmost energies to remove all forms of political servitude and party slavery, to the end that the working people may act as a unit at the polls of every election.

That the American Federation of Labor most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trade unionists and workingmen, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunction of the courts, nor act as the pliant tools of corporate wealth.

If this policy is executed with anything like unanimity upon the part of the workingmen, some surprises may be witnessed when the votes are counted at the close of election day next fall. Certain it is that there are enough doubtful Congressional districts in which organized labor holds the balance of power to make it uncomfortable for the candidate who has antagonized this element. It is, of course, a question whether workingmen will act as a unit. Their leaders admit that, except in certain localities, this solidity has not always been obtainable; but they claim that the conditions now existing are such as to compel laboring men to stand together for their own interests. Any action that may be taken will be hurtful to the Republican party; for President Gompers, in an authorized interview, distinctly asserts that the party in power is held responsible for the shortcomings cited in the memorial so carefully prepared.

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The session of Congress has been unusually prolonged. This has been due to the fact that no less than seventy days were occupied by the Senate in the discussion of the Railroad-rate bill; but so thorough and able was the consideration given to the measure that the delay redounded to the credit of the upper branch of Congress. It is true that there were some unpleasant episodes; that crimination and recrimination were indulged in with passionate fervor; but, after all, the one important fact cannot be gainsaid that in the Senate the Rate bill was literally pounded into effective shape.

Grave questions of constitutionality were debated with great ability and vigor; and a multitude of amendments were proposed and adopted, so essential in their nature as to be afterward accepted by the House without question. The most important of these provided for what has come to be known as the broad court-review.

The bill as drawn provided that orders of the commission fixing "just and reasonable" rates should remain in force, "unless the same shall be suspended or modified or set aside by the commission, or be suspended or set aside by a court of competent jurisdiction." This was the "narrow court-review," so-called. It was subject to the objection that it merely recognized a right which the act could neither confer nor take away — the right of the carrier to file a bill in the circuit court asking that the commission's rate be set aside on the ground that it violated the fifth amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting the taking of property without the due process of law. After much discussion the Senate adopted what has since become known as the Allison amendment, which describes specifically the courts having jurisdiction over appeals from the orders of the commission, provides that no preliminary injunction or interlocutory order is to be granted without hearing and notice, and declares that an appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the hearing is to be expedited.

Many other provisions — some of them of far-reaching importance, as the characterization of oil-pipe lines as common carriers — were added by the Senate. These details have been so thoroughly reported in the daily press, however, as to render it unnecessary to rehearse them in this article. Suffice it to say that the Republicans regard the enactment of the Rate bill as a trump card to play in the coming campaign. They point to it as another triumph of Republican constructive legislation and believe that the country will regard it as an earnest of the Republican purpose to deal with great questions for the public good, no matter whether corporations are adversely affected. The Democrats will, of course, claim a share in the result, not only because the almost unanimous vote in both Houses was non-partisan, but also because Senator Tillman was entrusted with the charge of the bill in the Senate.

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If Congress had done nothing more than enact the Railroad-rate bill, the session might well have been regarded as a profitable one. This measure, however, is only one of many that were finally laid before the President for his signature. The new law for the reform of the consular service is a long step in the right direction. This law classifies the consular offices, diverts fees from the pockets of the consuls into the United States treasury, and provides for a corps of five inspectors, taken out of the consular service who are to give personal supervision to consular offices throughout the world. A measure of great importance to manufacturers provides for tax-free alcohol for the arts when it has been denatured or rendered unfit for beverage or liquid medicinal purposes. As thus treated, it can also be used for light and fuel, and to this extent the passage of the law adversely affected the Standard Oil interests. A new immigration bill, which opens the door to all worthy incomers, but which bars out all objectionable classes, also stands to the record of the session. As for the Statehood bill, it is impossible at this writing to assert positively whether any legislation will be passed; but the probability is that before Congress adjourns provision will have been made for the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one State, with permission to Arizona and New Mexico to vote separately upon the proposition to admit the two territories as one State. The appropriation bills show considerable decrease as compared with previous years, and it is an admitted fact that never were the budgets so carefully scrutinized as during the present session.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

After many months of travail, Russia has at last brought forth the new order of constitutional government. It is not the constitutional government that the Anglo-Saxon, to whom the constitution is a birthright, would have wished to see; but it is at least a beginning, and in that respect it is better than anything that has before been known in Russia. Autocracy dies hard. It does not lightly yield its privilege or release its strangling hold upon the people. The Czar has given his subjects a constitution and a form of government in which they exercise some voice in the management of affairs; but by the proclamation of the indefensible and absurd "fundamental law," he has made an effort to retain his hold on power, and to be able, if necessary, to nullify the work of the representatives of the people. If the Czar were better versed in the long struggle of mankind in its effort to gain freedom, if he knew more of the philosophy of government, and if his mind enabled him to grasp the salient difference between a people willing to surrender much for the sake of law and a people willing to surrender still more to secure a recognition of the law, he would not be so foolish as to think that, after having pledged himself to grant a constitution and the creation of a parliament, they will be satisfied with a sham by which the people's power is nominal only, and the real power is still centred in the throne.

The folly of Nicholas makes him fail to comprehend that to-day he not only stands in the shadow of revolution, but faces the greater danger of his dynasty being swept from under his feet. So long as Russia was an autocracy, so long as there was no will but that of the autocrat, so long might the aspirations of the people for freedom and liberty and progress be stifled and kept down under the iron hand of militarism. There was always danger of revolution, but revolution was not greatly to be feared so long as the army could be relied on and cartridges were plentiful. There was always the lurking fear of the assassin's bomb; but that was the price that autocracy paid. Russians had for years yearned for the time to come when they would be granted the same rights that were possessed by people of every other land calling itself civilized. Freedom could be denied them so long as the constitution of Russia was merely the will of a sovereign, or an intrigue of a cabal of grand dukes; but the moment the Czar yielded to a pressure that he could not withstand, the moment the traditions of the empire went

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down before the gathering force of public opinion, that moment the Czar had unconsciously become the strongest advocate of the new *régime* and the leader of the party of progress.

The history of civilization is written in no half-way measures. Mankind has never been satisfied with a little when its ultimate goal was much. Struggle as the Czar may at the present time to restrict the power of the Duma and make it subordinate to his own power, instead of being the real governing force, his struggles will in the end prove futile. Before the end is reached, the Czar, as did Charles I, of England, or Louis XVI, of France, may go to the block, and Russia from an absolute monarchy may become a free republic. It is not unlikely that before that stage is reached much blood may be shed, but it is merely a cycle in evolution. From now on Russia will go forward, and not backward. The men who have been elected to the Duma are determined to fight for their rights and to obtain them. To-day Russia has a Parliament. That is the significant thing.

Seldom has there been a more dramatic or a more momentous occasion than the opening of the Russian Duma on the 10th of last May — the anniversary, by the way, of the assembly of the French States General in 1789, a coincidence not without omen to the superstitious. For the first time in the history of the Russian Empire, the people of Russia were assembled in a deliberative assembly to make laws for themselves and for their country. A majority of the members of the Russian Lower House are ignorant and superstitious peasants; and in all the world there is perhaps no one more ignorant and superstitious than the Russian moujik, the tiller of the soil sprung from a long line of peasants. Many of them are wholly illiterate, some are able to read or write with difficulty, but not many can both read and write. These are the men who have been assembled in St. Petersburg to make laws for that mighty Empire that stretches from the Baltic to the Asiatic Sea.

It would be absurd to believe that a popular assembly so composed can know anything of the science of government or is capable of framing laws that are for the best interests of the people. The peasants have suffered from the rapacity and cruelty of the governing classes. Condemned to a life of arduous toil in the fields, the fields have yielded them but a scant subsistence; and now that the Czar has been forced to grant them a constitution, they demand of the Czar — the great White Czar who to them was always a spiritual as well as an earthly pontiff — that he shall give them land enough so that every peasant may be able to raise crops sufficient for his support. They want the great estates of the nobles broken up into peasant holdings; believing that this will make them prosperous and that life will be easier. It is to be doubted whether the

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peasant will be any better off, if as well off as he is now, if his demands are granted. He is too unscientific and too ignorant of modern agricultural methods to be able to work to advantage his own holdings on a large scale. He needs intelligent supervision, and, more than anything else, he needs the hand of the master over him.

The Czar shows greater readiness to grant the demands of the peasant members than he does the demands of the other members of the Duma. The reason for this is not difficult to understand. Give the peasant his land, and he will be satisfied for the present to leave untouched the great power of the Czar; but the representatives in Parliament of the professional and other classes, the men who come from the cities, in contradistinction to those who come from the country, demand things much more vital. They are the men who strike at the very foundation of the Czar's power. They are men who demand constitutional government in the sense that all the world understands it, who ask the right of freedom of thought and freedom of expression, who want a responsible ministry, with its mandate from the people, uncontrolled by the Sovereign, who want the laws administered without fear or favoritism. So long as the Czar can control the peasants, and through them the Lower House of Parliament, he has little, if anything, to fear. It is not likely, however, that ignorant peasants will be able to control men of such marked ability as those who constitute the members from the cities, even if numerically the latter may be in the minority. The real power of the Duma lies in the hands of a few men of great strength and intellect.

The meeting of the Duma saw the fall of Witte and the appointment of Goremykin as his successor. Witte's fall is a triumph for his enemies, and does not argue well for the carrying out of the reforms which he made possible. In this generation Russia has produced few constructive statesmen, but Witte is the one notable exception. He is a statesman in the fullest sense of the word, a statesman with vision broad enough to see, and humanity wide enough to interpret, the needs of the hour and the demands of the people, and to know wherein the future lies. For Russia to go on as she has gone on in the past, he knew meant destruction; and after he returned from the peace conference at Portsmouth, and was called by the Czar to the head of affairs, he used all his influence to impress upon his sovereign the necessity of establishing a new order, if Russia were to hold her place in the world. It is too early yet to do justice to this extraordinary man.

It is too soon to tell what Witte has done and what he had to overcome. Single-handed he had to fight not only the power of autocracy, which was naturally to be expected, as the autocrats were his sworn enemies,

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but he had to meet the even more dangerous opposition of the men on whom he had reason to believe he could count. The autocracy hated him because he would rob them of their privileges. The liberals were suspicious of him because he countenanced only constitutional methods, and would not go to the extreme lengths which they considered necessary. Yielding to neither, he carried on his work up to the point when the Czar, veering between the old and the new, absurdly attempting to graft the new *régime* on the old, was induced to give the people the shadow of a constitution while seeking to retain the substance. Seeing the impossibility of such a scheme working, and rather than suffer the ignominy to follow from the failure of the plan that he did not advise, Count Witte was compelled, in order to preserve his self-respect, to resign the premiership. History will do him justice. For the present, he must rest content with the assured verdict of posterity. He is succeeded by Goremykin, formerly Minister of the Interior, and who for several years has been opposed to Witte. The new premier is a moderate liberal, although less advanced than his predecessor.

Another important change in the Russian government is the retirement of Count Lamsdorff as minister of foreign affairs, and the appointment of Baron Isvolski as his successor. Count Lamsdorff's retirement, especially at this time, is received by the world with sincere regret, as he is a man of great ability and a friend and lover of peace, and he was one of Count Witte's strongest supporters and actively seconded his efforts to bring about the liberal *régime*. It is largely due to him that the relations between England and Russia are better now than they have been since the Crimean war. Baron Isvolski is regarded as a man of great brilliancy and high capability. He was at one time the Russian minister to Tokio, and endeavored to prevent war between Russia and Japan. Like his predecessor, the new minister of Foreign Affairs will endeavor to cultivate friendly relations with England, and prevent Russia from engaging in any new foreign adventures that may embroil her with the other Powers.

In some of the European capitals, interesting stories are afloat assigning the reason for the somewhat sudden retirement of Count Lamsdorff; and, as usual in these days when every diplomatic thread has one of its strands in Berlin, Germany is held responsible for the change. It is well known in all European foreign offices, and generally believed by students of foreign affairs who have no official knowledge, that during the Russo-Japanese war the sympathies of the German Emperor were with Russia, and that he came perilously close to overstepping the line of neutrality in his effort to befriend Russia at the expense of Japan. When the Powers met at Algeciras to settle the fate of Morocco, the Kaiser natur-

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ally expected that the Czar would show his gratitude by supporting him, even though that involved the disarrangement of the plans of his ally, France. Judge, then, the disappointment in Berlin when a telegram was made public in Paris from Count Lamsdorff to Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador at Madrid and the Chief Russian plenipotentiary at Algeciras, to the effect that in case the Powers were unable to agree, and the abortive ending of the Conference should precipitate war, Russia would be found on the side of her ally, France, with whom England, the ally of Japan, was also leagued. This was a coalition that not even the German Emperor was rash enough to provoke; and when Wilhelmstrasse discovered that Germany was isolated and could expect no assistance from any of the Great Powers—for in case of war it is quite certain Italy would have remained neutral or joined France and England, while Austria, Germany's other nominal ally in the triple alliance, was so near the verge of civil war that she was almost a negligible quantity politically—her attitude at Algeciras became much more conciliatory, and agreement was finally reached. In revenge for this spoiling of his game by Count Lamsdorff, the Emperor, it is said, put pressure to bear upon the Czar to dismiss his foreign minister. The appointment of Baron Isvolski, under these circumstances, created the belief that he is intensely pro-German and that in him the Kaiser will have a pliant tool at St. Petersburg. This, however, is to be doubted, and it is questionable whether Germany gains anything by the change.

During the last few years, English diplomats have believed it the policy of wisdom to come to an understanding with Russia. The aim of English statesmen has been to isolate Germany, and to draw her fangs by making it impossible for her to form a coalition directed against England. Italy has always been the traditional friend of England, and new proof of this was given by the visit of King Edward to King Victor Emanuel, which, according to rumor, led to a complete understanding between the two sovereigns. This was the beginning of the policy to isolate Germany. Then followed the first steps toward the *rapprochement* with France, which culminated in the conventions by which France recognized the position of England in Egypt as "regular," and England on her part agreed to recognize the "superior rights" of France in Morocco. Since then, although no formal treaty of alliance has been entered into between France and England, the relations between the two countries have become exceedingly cordial. After many years of great bitterness on both sides, they are now on excellent terms, and there is a constant interchange of civilities between the two peoples.

The next move was to bring Russia into the combination. Although England was the ally of Japan, and had given Japan enormous material

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assistance during the war, the *entente* between England and France made it not difficult for France to pave the way to an understanding between England and Russia. A formal Anglo-Russian treaty has not yet been signed; but both countries are now so well disposed toward each other that a treaty is almost certain to be the outcome. Significant of the new relation is the participation of English financial houses in the latest Russian loan; and this is the first time since the Crimea that Russia has been able to obtain access to the British money market.

India has kept England and Russia apart. England has credited Russia with sinister designs on her Indian Empire, and believed that she was only biding her time to obtain by force what she had failed to obtain by diplomacy. Latterly the Near Eastern question has been regarded as a more important source of danger than the Far East. England has set up a Monroe Doctrine of her own in the Persian Gulf, which has been mainly directed against Russia, and incidentally against Germany. It is not at all unlikely that, while Persia will nominally remain independent, Russia and England will agree on a delimitation of their respective spheres of influence by which Great Britain will control the southern half and Russia the northern half. When that is done, the Trans-Caucasian Railway will be extended to Bagdad so as to complete it before the German Bagdad Railway is finished, which will be another blow to Germany, and heavily handicap her in her effort to control the commerce of Asia Minor. A settlement of the Persian question would make it much easier for the two countries to come to an arrangement relative to the Indian frontier, so as to remove the possible danger of a conflict over Afghanistan and Thibet.

It was the visit of a French president, escorted by a squadron of French warships, to Cronstadt in 1897 that was made the occasion to proclaim to the world the existence of the Franco-Russian alliance. Announcement has been made that during the coming summer the British Channel squadron will visit Cronstadt, and speculation is rife whether that visit will be followed, as was the visit of President Faure, by a momentous political declaration. British ships of war have not been in the habit of making social calls in Russian ports, and Russian naval officers have found the waters of England too chilly even for them. It is not likely that the cruise of the British squadron in Russian waters will be the signal for political speeches, as the British government does not transact its diplomacy at the banquet table; and the very last thing the British naval officer knows anything about is diplomacy or politics. But the fact that British and Russian ensigns will fly side by side, and that British and Russian officers will entertain each other instead of watching each other, shows that a long step has been taken toward that

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rapprochement that Britain desires for the maintenance of peace, and that Russia feels is her defiance as well as her protection from the menace of Germany.

Not less significant of the change of relations between England and Russia, which permits an English fleet to enter a Russian port, is the spectacle, which would have been regarded as a miracle a year or two back, of the Russian ambassador at Constantinople supporting the demands of the British government against Turkey. Heretofore, when England has brought pressure to bear upon Turkey, Russia has encouraged the Sultan to resist; and it was his knowledge that a coalition of the Great Powers was impossible that made it so difficult for any one of them to bring him to book. Now, with England, France, and Russia acting in concert, there was only Germany to fall back on, and Germany plays no such foolish game as to pose as the protector of Islam in defiance of the Christian Powers. The Ottoman Empire, since the Crimean war, when, in the picturesque phrase of Lord Salisbury, England put her money on the wrong horse, has been saved from falling to pieces by the force with which England backs up her diplomacy, and the jealousies and fears that have kept England and Russia apart and made each thwart the policy of the other. The moment they can agree, the dream of Peter the Great comes measurably near to realization.

The object for which Russia has so long been striving is Constantinople. "He who shall reign there will be the true sovereign of the world," wrote Peter the Great, in his will; and, although the political centre of gravity has shifted, and the construction of the Suez canal has made Constantinople of less importance to England as an outpost to safeguard her route to India, England has blocked the pathway of Russia because it weakened her rival to lock up her fleets in the Black Sea and have them ice bound in the Baltic. If, now, England withdraws her opposition, if there is nothing to stay the onward march of Russia except the resistance that Turkey can offer, which will not be feeble, but which in the long run Russia can crush, there will be an end to Turkish misrule in Europe. And the sooner that hideous chapter is closed, the better for all mankind.

It is no wonder that Russia is willing to pay heavily for the friendship of England. It is the one thing more than anything else that she needs. Exhausted by her struggle with Japan, with her credit at a low ebb, and her people divided, she is in no condition to engage in fresh military adventures, or to satisfy her greed for expansion against the opposition of any great military Power. France will not balk her plans, neither will England, if she is satisfied that they are not injurious to her own interests. Germany, therefore, is alone to be reckoned with;

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and the policy of Germany, it has been made clearly evident, is not to risk hostilities against overwhelming odds. An Anglo-Russian understanding, a German newspaper remarks, would be a severe blow to Germany, and cripple her world policy. That, in a sentence, is what Germany has to fear. In her "splendid isolation," Germany would continue to menace the commercial supremacy of Great Britain, and drive the United States hard; but as a political rival she would no longer be feared.

The time is opportune to take a survey of the position of England as compared with ten years ago, even, and to note how the political balance of power, which for a moment seemed to be slipping out of the grasp of England, is now more firmly than ever in her hands. Go back to the conclusion of the Chinese-Japanese war, when Russia, France, and Germany by the irony of greed were driven into a temporary alliance to rob Japan of the fruits of her victory. England stood by, a passive but sullen spectator. That marked the end of England's prestige in the Far East, her enemies gleefully predicted; and it looked as if there was nothing to stay the forward march of Russia and make her mistress of Manchuria, with a Russian political agent exercising the real functions of government in Peking. If the Russian violation of the Liao-tung peninsula marked the beginning of English decadence, the South African war was its completion, as viewed through the eyes of unfriendly critics. In all the world she could count upon not a single ally; wherever she turned in Europe she saw only hostility, and nations waiting for her hour of distress to turn it to their profit. The Boer war was fought, and England, at no mean cost, put a new patch of red on the map; but that war, despite its mistakes and its revelations of the military weakness of England, was proof also of her strength, of her enormous resources, of the latent power of the Empire. It inspired the world with respect.

Then it seemed as if England, hitherto almost happy-go-lucky in her diplomacy, had suddenly come to realize the folly of her policy, and determined to reverse it. To strengthen her position in the Far East, she made the alliance with Japan. We can see now that that alliance made war between Russia and Japan inevitable; and it would be interesting to know if, when the treaty was signed by Lord Lansdowne and Viscount Hayashi, the first step was deliberately taken by the negotiators and their governments to bring Japan into armed conflict with Russia. Without further discussing what can now be only a profitless speculation, the fact remains that the war inured enormously to England's benefit. It destroyed the fiction of Russia's military strength; it practically brought her to the verge of financial ruin; it cut away one of the props upon which Germany leaned; and it threw back France upon

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her own resources; for it was obvious that in case France was threatened by any of her continental neighbors, or by England, little reliance could be placed upon the assistance to be furnished by Russia.

France, realizing the insecurity of her position, found it to her advantage to be on good terms with England rather than to encourage hostility; and, due to the efforts of King Edward, the foremost diplomatist in the world to-day, the two people, so unlike and yet with so much in common, who have fought each other and fought for each other, and side by side have fought a common foe, have been brought closer than they have been for years, and politically are moved by the same impulse. The Algeciras conference showed this. Had England cast her weight with Germany, that conference would have had a very different ending; but the known determination of England to support the French demands, even to the extent of becoming the military ally of France if Germany was determined to make Morocco a *casus belli*, not only prevented war, but enabled France to score a marked diplomatic triumph, and cause the Kaiser considerable mortification.

The traditional friendship between England and Italy that had been allowed somewhat to cool on the part of Italy, largely through English indifference and bungling diplomacy, was revived by the King's visit to the Italian sovereign, and at no time have the relations between the two governments been more cordial. This friendship is important to England, for two reasons. Italy is one of the parties to the triple alliance; but, while nominally an ally of Germany, she will do nothing to encourage Germany in any wanton aggression designed against either France or England, so that Germany can place little dependence upon Italy should she compel England to go to war. The Italian-German alliance strained the relations between Italy and France, although geographically and commercially Italy has much more to profit from the friendship of France than she has from that of Germany. Now that England and France have forgotten past differences, the way is paved for France and Italy to come together.

Austria, likewise, is a member of the triple alliance; but between the Austrian and the English courts there has always existed a strong bond of sympathy, and Austria fears Germany as much as Germany fears Russia. England can feel certain that Austria will no more readily encourage German aggression, if directed against England, than will Italy.

That left on the European continent only one first-class power whose interests clashed with those of England; and to complete the work of the isolation of Germany, it was necessary that England and Russia should reach an understanding. That understanding, as I have already

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pointed out, is in a fair way of being consummated; and when that is done, when England need no longer fear the designs of Russia, England's diplomatic task is accomplished and the isolation of Germany is complete.

Thus at a glance we see what England has done in less than five years. She has secured her position in the Far East. She has, by the second treaty of alliance with Japan, rendered additionally strong her Indian Empire. She has regularized her position in Egypt, and has brought Africa from the Cape to Cairo under her domination. She is on terms of friendly and political intimacy with France, Austria, Italy, and Russia. The only Power that she distrusts, and in a measure fears, is Germany; and so long as Germany can find no active ally, her power to do harm is not very great — certainly not great enough to cause apprehension so long as the disparity between the navies of the two countries is maintained at its present proportions. Surely this is marvellous diplomacy.

The new British government is not having easy sailing in Parliament. Twice it has been forced to reverse itself. In Natal, where the blacks outnumber the whites ten to one, natives for the murder of whites were tried by court-martial and sentenced to death. Just as the death sentence was about to be carried out Lord Elgin, the secretary of state for the colonies, telegraphed to Sir Henry McCullom, the governor of Natal, suspending the sentence, which was an exercise of the imperial power so distasteful to the colony that it roused fierce indignation, and the Natal ministry, to preserve its self-respect and independence, resigned. The British cabinet, realizing that it had blundered, made Sir Henry McCullom the scapegoat by asserting that Lord Elgin's action was taken on insufficient information and that it was not the intention of his Majesty's ministers to interfere with the prerogatives of the Natal government. All objection to the execution of the natives was withdrawn, and the death sentence was duly carried out. The only effect of the uncalled-for interference on the part of the imperial Government was to give the opposition in Parliament an opportunity to hammer the Cabinet — which was duly availed of by Mr. Chamberlain and his party associates — and to anger the colonists.

Again, a few days later, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman showed the country how easily he could reverse his policy. It was the first clash between the government and the Labor members, which had been awaited with considerable interest both in and out of Parliament. In the preceding number of this Review it was explained that the Taff Vale decision made the funds of a trade union liable in event of damages being awarded against the union for the illegal acts of its officers. One of the demands

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of the trade unionists and of their representatives in Parliament was the passage of a bill restoring to the unions their old immunities. The Government introduced a bill giving labor all that it demanded with one notable exception, namely, that the union should be liable for damages in case it should be proved to the satisfaction of the court that the actions complained of were in pursuance of instructions from the union.

In supporting the bill, the attorney-general explained that this was a question of fact which ought to be left to the determination of a jury. But that was the one feature of the Taff Vale decision so bitterly complained of by the unions, and a substitute bill was introduced by the Labor members, which provides that no action shall be brought against a trade union to recover damages by reason of the action of any member of the union, and if that law had been in existence at the time of the Taff Vale strike the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants would not have been cast in damages for $100,000. Greatly to the surprise of the House and the country, the Premier threw over the attorney-general's bill and accepted that of the Labor members, his explanation being that the Government desired "to place the rival powers of capital and labor on an equality, so that in the event of a fight it should be a fair one." The Government has been accused of a "cowardly surrender" to the clamor of the Labor party, and that party is correspondingly elated in having thus early in the session won such an important victory. It is not easy to understand why Sir Henry should have yielded, unless he feared the Labor members would vote against the educational bill. But that is a dangerous policy, and it will of course encourage the Labor members as well as the Irish members to make greater demands on the Government.

Anyone with a knowledge of the psychology of the English people readily understands how quickly they can be aroused over a question of religion, and the secularization of the public schools. For the English, although a very practical people, who on the surface take their religion lightly, are at heart a religious people, and religion is with them an inborn conviction which commands their reverence, Nothing has for years aroused such a fierce storm of protest and condemnation as "the bill of the session," as the Premier termed the education bill, derisively dubbed by the opposition "The Birrelligious Bill," because it is sponsored by Mr. Birrell, the minister of education.

To Americans it will appear strange that the principles sought to be laid down by the bill should not be readily accepted. In substance, what the bill provides is that the school supported by the State shall be under the control of the State. There are in England many denominational schools in which a creed is taught and the teachers are subjected to a religious test. Some of the schools are endowed, others are sup-

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ported by voluntary contributions, and until a few years ago they received no assistance from the national exchequer. When they were put "on the slippery slope of the rates" by the Balfour act of 1902, it was the entering wedge of government control, although that was not the purpose of the act. The present bill now goes a step further by providing that "no catechism or any formulary distinctive of any religious denomination shall be taught in the school." To most persons this will appear absolutely correct, as the state school in a country where religious freedom is a constitutional guarantee is not the proper place for denominational teaching; but that constitutes the chief grievance of denominationalists of all creeds.

"Thus at one fell swoop all the denominational schools of the country became undenominational," is the plaint of one of Mr. Birrell's fiercest critics. "Not only are they to be taken away from their owners, but they are also to be perverted from their primary purpose. Undenominationalism would henceforth be the general rule throughout the land." Denominational instruction can be given to children under certain stipulations — that is, when asked for by parents and paid for by the denomination, the instruction to be given not during the school hours of compulsory attendance or by the regularly appointed teachers. That is to say, if there are a certain number of Catholic children attending a school, their priest may give them religious instruction every morning prior to the opening of school, or after the school is closed, and so with every other denomination.

Surely that would seem to be fair enough; but the Bishop of Manchester denounces the bill as "religious tyranny and spoliation of our church schools," and other Anglican bishops are equally vehement in their opposition. No measure has so aroused passion since Mr. Gladstone introduced his Irish home rule bill; and the Unionists hope that the "Birrelligious bill," like the home rule bill, may be the Government's undoing.

Partly, I presume, to show that the Sick Man of Europe is not yet moribund, the Sultan, toward the end of April, provoked England to a display of force; and then, as usually happens, when Abdul Hamid found that he must fight or run, he yielded to the British demands. Tabah, in the Sinai peninsula, which the British government claimed was Egyptian territory, was about to be garrisoned by Egyptian troops when Turkey forestalled this action by despatching a small force, the Turkish commandant at Akabah claiming that it belonged to his district. England, as the protector of Egypt, promptly ordered Turkey to withdraw her troops; and when the Sultan refused and resorted to his customary

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shifty diplomacy to gain time, the British Ambassador at Constantinople served on him an ultimatum, and Great Britain assembled a powerful fleet to make the ultimatum effective. When he was convinced that England was in earnest and would be satisfied with nothing short of complete submission, the Sultan gave the necessary order for the withdrawal of the garrison, and the farce of friendly relations between England and Turkey was once more proclaimed.

Abdul Hamid is popularly supposed to be a man of such extraordinary cunning and astuteness that no one can fathom his motive in challenging England only to have to make an ignominious surrender. Naturally enough, it was believed in England that the Sultan had been induced to offer this challenge at the instigation of Germany and had been led to believe that in case he found himself in difficulites he could rely on Germany to extricate him from his embarrassment. Nothing has developed to justify this suspicion, and the fact that Germany remained aloof and left Turkey to her own devices is circumstantial proof that for once at least Germany has been unjustly accused. The whole affair remains a mystery, and has had no result except to strengthen England's position in Egypt, as Turkey has now formally recognized Great Britain as the protector of Egypt; and the empty fiction of the Khedive as the sovereign of Egypt, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Sultan, was not even resorted to as a matter of form.

China has again startled the world, and given another proof that the spirit of nationality that has so long slumbered is at last awakened. In this department attention has been so repeatedly called to the development of the sentiment of "China for the Chinese" that the determination of China to throw off the yoke of the Western Powers should occasion no surprise. In May an imperial edict was issued appointing Tieh-liang superintendent of customs affairs and placing all Chinese and foreigners in the customs service of China under his control. For many years the customs have been in the hands of Sir Robert Hart, an Englishman, who has under him a mixed European and Chinese force. It is only since Sir Robert Hart has been in charge of the customs that the revenues have been honestly collected and properly accounted for. All the world has a very substantial interest in seeing that the customs shall continue to be honestly collected, as the revenues are mortgaged to the hilt as security for foreign loans and indemnities. Any diversion of the revenue would seriously imperil the security on which creditors and foreign governments rely.

The edict does not make it clear that Sir Robert Hart is to be superseded, and as all the great powers have vigorously protested against any

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change as being in violation of treaty rights, China is not likely to push the matter to an issue; but the mere fact that China contemplates regaining the control of her own affairs is indicative of the new spirit. Christendom of course is shocked. It is outrageous that China should demand the right to manage her own government in her own way, and that she should show so little appreciation of the benefits of civilization that she prefers to be let alone rather than to have missionaries backed by gunboats preach a religion that the Chinese do not want.

The most important lesson that China has learned from Christendom is the efficacy of force. China has at last discovered that one of the secrets of the greatness of Western nations is their use of force; that they resist when they are threatened; and that when the limit of resistance is reached, they do not meekly yield, but resort to the last appeal of civilization, the sword. China has begun the creation of an army, and it is more than likely that her desire to obtain control of the customs is to obtain money for military purposes. How many years must elapse before China feels that she has an army large enough and effective enough to make foreign nations respect her strength, no one can tell; but when that time comes, as come it most certainly will, the Western nations will think seriously before they provoke China to combat. When China commands from the Western nations the same respect that they have for each other, a respect born in fear, Europe and America will have nothing to dread from a Mongolian invasion, but much to fear from commercial competition that will change the currents of trade; for it is obvious that in certain industries the Asiatic can successfully compete with the European. In the future development of the world, Asia will play no small part.

Events in France recently have been followed with the keenest interest, and more than one test has been applied to prove the strength of the Republic. The Republic remains unshaken — stronger, in fact, than ever, and more resolute, more determined to carry out the policy that means peace at home and abroad.

The great mine horror at Courrières, by which more than a thousand miners lost their lives, precipitated strikes of far-reaching proportions, that threatened at one time to have most serious results. Believing that the great loss of life was due to the criminal neglect of the mine-owners in not adopting proper safety appliances, a general strike of the miners took place; the Government, as is always the case in France, being held in a measure responsible. Labor agitators, extreme socialists, and the political opponents of the government, including, it is generally believed, royalists and imperialists, eagerly seized the discontent and agitation and unrest among the workingmen to organize May-day

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demonstrations on an unprecedented scale, which it was hoped would largely influence the general election to be held on May 6.

The duty of maintaining order devolved upon M. Clémenceau, the minister of the interior, an extreme radical closely leagued politically with the socialists, who are powerful in French politics. If disorder was crushed with force and violence put down with a heavy hand, the newly constituted Government might go to wreck at the general election the following week. Clémenceau's political opponents expected that he would temporize rather than display firmness, and by playing good Lord, good devil, attempt to satisfy the friends of order without seriously alienating the good will of the enemies of lawful authority. But Clémenceau is a man of courage and firmness. There was no paltering with duty. Paris naturally was the storm centre, and Paris for the time being was made a huge military camp. There were a few minor disturbances, but nothing approaching the dignity of a riot; and in a few days the troops that had been drafted to the capital were sent back to their stations, and Paris resumed her normal aspect of light-hearted gayety.

The general election, the first since 1902, was a victory for the Government, which has a larger majority in the new chamber than it had in the old. There is no solid compact Government majority in the French Chamber as there is a Republican majority in the House of Representatives or a Liberal majority in the House of Commons. Political opinion in France finds its expression in groups; the supporters of the Government and the Republic constituting what has come to be known in French politics as the "bloc"; while the opposition is composed of various factions, consisting of elements so antagonistic as legitimists of the Faubourg St. Germain and anarchists from Montmartre, forming the "anti-bloc," whose sole purpose is to turn out the Government and cause confusion, when each group hopes that in the *débâcle* it will find power.

The friends of stability and of the Republic have held together. The people of France have shown that those kaleidoscopic political changes that were such a distinguishing feature of the early days of the Republic and caused all the world amazement no longer appeal to them. In politics as in other things the French people during the last decade have become less emotional and more practical; less easily excited and calmer in their judgment. And, above all things, they have demonstrated that the policy of the separation of church and state meets with their approval. If France at heart were not in favor of this policy, the passion that had been aroused by the taking of the church inventories would have found its expression at the polls in a majority of the Chamber of Deputies adverse to the present Government, which is committed to the policy of its predecessor in divorcing religion from temporal affairs. But the

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Government is stronger than it was before election, and the Paris "Temps" clearly grasps the significance of the election when it says:

> The results of the election plainly indicate that the country has no desire to return to the ancient *régime* of church-and-state amalgamation. The electors have declared themselves in favor of a firm and dignified foreign policy of respect for law at home, and of a liberal enforcement of the Separation law.

The Radicals and Socialists, naturally enough, hail the election as a great victory and a staggering blow to the reactionaries, whether they be Royalists or Clericals or Bonapartists. The Sarrien Cabinet, assured that it possesses the confidence of the country, and secure in the thought that France has little or nothing to fear from foreign complications, can now go forward without faltering on the policy which it has outlined, which means peace and confidence, and an end to the interference of the church in politics that was as harmful to the best interests of the church as it has been to the mental and spiritual development of France herself.

As the last number of this review was going to press, the delegates at Algeciras were about to affix their signatures to the *acte générale.* The result of the conference was much as anticipated. The French and German governments both claim a victory, but as a matter of fact neither gained all that it desired and both were in a measure successful. "The Tunisification of Morocco," as one writer happily phrases it, has been prevented, or at least indefinitely postponed, which is a disappointment to France and a victory for Germany.

On the other hand, the Powers have recognized that France occupies a peculiar position toward Morocco and that she has rights there superior to those of any other country. This is a salve to French vanity. The efforts of Germany to place the control of the native *gendarmerie* under European officers was defeated, and France and Spain were made responsible for the proper police protection of the ports. Weighing the gains and losses, it will be seen that they are very nearly evenly balanced so far as the two chief disputants are concerned; but the world at large gains by Morocco for the next five years at least, which is the life of the agreement, being removed from the arena of politics and ceasing to be a menace to the peace of Europe.

That the Kaiser was very angry over the results of the conference, and especially angry because Italy and Russia, the two Powers on whom he had relied, declined to support him, is clearly shown by the extraordinary telegram he sent to Count Golouchouski, the Austrian foreign minister:

> At the moment when, with the consent of your gracious master, I transmit to Count Welsersheimb the Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle in recog-

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nition of his successful endeavors at Algeciras, I feel compelled to thank you sincerely from my heart for your unwavering support of my representatives — a splendid deed of a loyal ally. You have shown yourself as a brilliant second upon the duelling floor, and may be sure of my rendering like service on like occasion.

The Kaiser has before now startled the world with his telegrams, but never before had he aroused such a fluttering in the diplomatic dove-cotes as he did on this occasion. Presumably he intended to show his sense of obligation to Austria and to emphasize the loyalty of his Austrian ally, as contrasted with the disloyalty of his Italian ally; but in that case he signally failed of his purpose. It was not flattering to Austrian pride to be told that she acted merely as a second in a German duel, yet this was the effect produced by the telegram. It was addressed to Vienna, but it was intended to be read in Rome, is the general verdict, which is fortified by the attitude of the German press. Thus, the Berlin "Tageblatt" bluntly tells Italy that she "had better not forget that we Germans are absolutely determined to take the lead on the European continent, at least in central Europe, and Italy, owing her union and independence mainly to German policy, has more reason than any other member of the triple alliance to retain Germany's active friendship."

The Italian answer to Germany was made by Count Guicciardini, minister for foreign affairs, in the senate, in reply to an interpellation of Signor di Martino on the foreign policy of the Government, and was of great importance as showing that, while Italy intends scrupulously to observe the obligations of the pact made with Germany and Austria, she does not propose to be made use of by Germany as a cat's paw.

The direction which we follow in international politics, the Count said, is that which, in its main lines, has already repeatedly received the assent and approval of the country, and which Baron Sonnino, the Prime Minister, summed up in his speech of March 8 in the following words: "Cordially faithful to the triple alliance, we shall maintain our traditional intimacy with Great Britain and our sincere friendship with France, thus continuing the policy, which, in carefully fostering the harmony of international relations, permits us to exercise a *rôle* of concord and peace in the council of the nations."

After reminding the senate that it was indispensable for Italy that the *status quo* be maintained in the Balkans, and that the position of Italy in the Mediterranean be effectively safeguarded, which the triple alliance accomplished, he continued:

Italy, in her agreements with France and her understanding with Great Britain, has found a safeguard much more complete than she could have found in an alliance. Thus our policy has its *raison d'être* in our chief national interests. The doubts which have been expressed as to the continuance and stability of that policy have at present no foundation. Indeed, our relations with Austria-Hungary are very

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cordial, as is shown by the mutual confidence which animates the relations between the Rome and Vienna governments.

Turning to Italian relations with Great Britain, Count Guicciardini said:

> It must be remembered that many years ago, when the negotiations for the Alliance with the Central European Powers were first set on foot, Italy took care to make clear the nature of her ancient and immutable relations with Great Britain, relations which she could not renounce. The two neighboring Empires acknowledged the importance and the worth of this loyal declaration by admitting that the friendship between Italy and Great Britain was not among the least of the causes which rendered Italy's adhesion of value to the alliance. . . . These facts permit me to feel confident that Italy's traditional relations with Great Britain will continue to be in the future what they have been in the past, that is to say, an element of harmony and good feeling among the nations. In this way the policy based on the triple alliance, while safeguarding the interests of Italy in the Balkans and the Mediterranean and maintaining her ancient friendships, has not proved an obstacle to desirable *rapprochements* with other nations, and has none the less become a stable element of the peace of Europe.

After fourteen months of bitter and dangerous controversy between the Emperor of Austria and the parliamentary leaders in Hungary, a compromise has been effected, and the dual monarchy, which at one time was on the point of being torn asunder by civil war, is now at peace. By the terms of the compromise, Alexander Wekerle formed a cabinet in succession to the Fejervary cabinet, which had carried on the government without parliamentary sanction, and an election was at once ordered under the old suffrage laws, which give the Magyars such an undue advantage over the other nationalities represented in the Hungarian parliament. The election, which was held on May 7, gave the supporters of Francis Kossuth 240 seats out of a total of 413. The strictly non-Magyar nationalities carried only 38.

The *modus vivendi* provided that the necessary supplies should be voted for administrative purposes and that the commercial union with Austria should be extended until 1917. A law providing for the establishment of universal suffrage was to be passed, and under this law an appeal is to be taken to the nation. This new parliament will then pass upon the questions that have for so long been in dispute between the Crown and the Hungarians, and especially the language question, or whether the words of command to the Hungarian regiments shall be delivered in German or Hungarian. This has meant more than is apparent, as it has involved important constitutional questions, and moreover the use of Hungarian was regarded by the Austrians as the entering wedge toward the creation of a separate Hungarian army, which would weaken the military power of the empire. Francis Joseph has shown sagacity

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as well as statesmanship in preventing a crisis, and the danger of further friction seems now to be averted.

Belgium and England have settled the differences that recently arose in connection with the rights of the Sudanese and Congo governments in the Bahr-el-Ghazel, the Sudanese government being in reality Great Britain and the Congo government being in fact King Leopold of Belgium. The right asserted by the Congo government to the military occupation of certain points in the Lado enclave on the Upper Nile was resisted by the Sudan government, which stopped river traffic, thus depriving the Congo ports on the Upper Nile from receiving supplies shipped from Egyptian ports and virtually closing the outlet of the Congo. The territorial rights asserted by Belgium had a somewhat curious origin. By virtue of a lease concluded between the British and Congo governments, the latter enjoyed the occupation of a large tract of country on the left bank of the Nile as far north as Fashoda. King Leopold in turn made over to France a larger portion of the territory which he had acquired from England, and which enabled France to realize her long-cherished ambition, a footing on the Nile.

When, after the Fashoda crisis, France retired from the Nile and entered into an agreement with England by which England's rights, by virtue of the conquest of the Sudan, were formally recognized, the French portion of the Belgian leased territory reverted to England, or at least that was the opinion held by the English government and tacitly acquiesced in by France, but not admitted by Belgium. Effectually to quiet any flaw that might exist in the title, the British government has now entered into an agreement with the King of the Belgians by which after the death of King Leopold the territory in question automatically reverts to the Sudan, and a strip of territory, which enables the Sudanese government to control the headwaters of the Nile, is immediately transferred to the Sudan. In return for these concessions, the British government guarantees the interest on the capital required for the construction of a railway from the Nile near Lado to the Congo frontier, and the Belgians enjoy the same rights of transit as do British subjects or merchandise. The agreement gives the Sudanese government the undisputed command of the upper waters of the Nile, which is an enormous advantage and is another rivet to strengthen the hand that so firmly holds Africa.

It is not at all improbable that one of the most important questions which the second Hague conference will consider will be the reduction or limitation of armaments. At the time when the first Hague conference met on the invitation of the Czar of Russia, a suspicion existed in the

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minds of several nations that behind the seemingly benevolent purpose of the Czar lurked a sinister design; and to avoid any pitfalls, some of the powers before accepting the invitation to the conference stipulated that the question of disarmament should not be raised. In fact, that question was looked upon as impossible, and the suggestion that the powers should agree to disarm or stop military expansion was regarded as so visionary and chimerical that it was not deemed worthy of serious discussion. It was not brought up before the conference.

A few weeks ago, in the House of Commons, an extremely significant declaration was made by Sir Edward Grey, the foreign secretary. A resolution was moved by Henry Vivian, a Labor member, that the Government take steps to reduce the expenditures for armaments and to bring the question before the Hague conference. Replying to the resolution, Sir Edward said that the position of the Government was that expenditures could be reduced without sacrificing national safety. Continuing, he said:

> A great deal, of course, depends on the policies of other countries, upon the general feeling in Europe; but a declaration such as that of the resolution, from this Parliament, is worth having for the effect it will produce on other countries. Abroad as well as here the burden of armaments is being felt, and at no time has the conscious public opinion of Europe set more strongly in the direction of peace; it could do no greater service than make the conditions of peace less expensive than they are now. Of course, there are difficulties in the way of coming to an agreement as to the reduction of armaments, but that was one of the original projects of the conference. On behalf of the Government I accept and welcome the resolution.

This declaration naturally attracted great attention on the continent. It met with sympathetic, although somewhat guarded, acceptance from French public men and the French press, and violent opposition from the German press, which evidently looks with suspicion on the Greeks when they come bearing gifts. As Germany is heavily taxing her resources to provide for the creation of a powerful navy with the least possible delay, it is perhaps not surprising that she does not want to encourage the moral sentiment of the world to regard with disfavor the enlargement of navies, especially as England is rapidly pushing to completion the most powerful battleship in the world.

Curiously enough, Russia is equally opposed to disarmament or the reduction of armaments. In the original programme submitted to the governments accepting her invitation to the second conference, she expressly excludes from discussion that question, which does not of course in any way settle the matter, as the programme has not yet been accepted by the participating governments. Russia is probably influenced by the belief that any agreement reached would prevent her from

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repairing the damages done to her navy by the war with Japan; but that is short-sighted, as it would be easy enough and entirely equitable for Russia to insist that her navy should be restored to its *ante-bellum status*, or even that it should be increased by a certain tonnage so as not to make the disparity between her naval strength and that of other powers too great. It is quite possible that nothing may come out of the present attempt to reduce military expenditures; but it is indicative that nations are feeling their enormous strain, which must, apart from all humane considerations, work its own remedy, as the time will come when the burden will be so great that not even the richest nation will be able to stand it without raising taxation so dangerously high that the people will at last resist.

All the world loves a lover, and "the women — one half of the human race at least — care fifty times more for a marriage than a ministry," which perhaps explains why all mankind has taken a great deal more interest in the wooing and wedding of the King of Spain and Princess Ena of Battenburg than it has in things more far-reaching, but which are too remote to be easily understood. With picturesque splendor, marred by the dastardly but fortunately unsuccessful work of the anarchist, the young sovereign and his fair bride were married, while the subjects of the new Queen gave her fervid welcome, and all the world wished the royal couple long life and great happiness. It is seldom that royal marriages are affairs of the heart — they are too frequently affairs of state; but this is one of the rare exceptions. Inheriting many of the strong qualities of his mother, Alfonso XIII has her same determination of will, and when the time came for him to take unto himself a wife he was more influenced by his feelings than he was by expediency. There were many princesses ready to share his throne, and there were many kings willing to see their daughters become a queen, not oblivious to the political advantage that would come from an alliance with a reigning sovereign of Europe; but the young King went where his heart listeth, and it was Ena, the niece of King Edward, to whom he offered the golden apple.

The Spaniards were at first not pleased. There is no person in all the world so intolerant of the foreigner as the Spaniard, and it is contrary to all his traditions to admit the foreigner to the intimacy of his family circle. The Spanish people, too, remembered the Queen Regent, the mother of the present King, a woman of high intelligence and capacity, but who was never popular; and the new Queen did not belong to the ancient religion. But opposition could not long prevail against two such genuinely happy lovers; and when the princess abjured her faith

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and was received as a convert in the Catholic church, the people were pleased, and a little later their pleasure gave place to genuine admiration when they saw how gracious she was, and her determination to make herself beloved of her new subjects. The Spanish people have loyally done homage to their Queen and have rejoiced with their King in his joy.

No royal match, even though it is born in love, can be made without due consideration being given to the effect it has on international relations. The marriage of Alfonso and Ena is of advantage to Spain in that it allies Spain by ties of blood with the one country more than any other that is interested in preserving the *status quo* in the Mediterranean, and that would sincerely regret any rearrangement of the map of Europe that would be to the disadvantage of Spain. She may therefore safely rely on the benevolent support of England whenever it can be exercised. England, if unmoved by sentiment, and if she looks upon royal princesses as simply pawns to play the game of statecraft, can have no fault to find with this alliance. It is politically valuable; it gives her another strong ally in the concert of Europe; and it enables her, if one may use the expression, to establish a Latin *point d'appui*. And combined with the positive advantages is a negative gain hardly less important: that it is an English, and not a German, princess who is the consort of the King of Spain.

A. Maurice Low.

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FINANCE.

VERY few chapters in our recent financial history have been marked by incidents so extraordinary as those of the past three months. Looking upon the sequence of events from one point of view, it may be said that the expectations of the best judges were completely verified. Looked upon from another, the period may be described as a chapter of the unexpected. What has happened during the past three months cannot be clearly understood except in the light of the three months which preceded them, and a brief retrospect will be necessary to introduce the quarter's history.

We saw, in the last number of THE FORUM, the manner in which the financial markets had been warned that available supplies of capital in the American market were inadequate for the demands which were being placed upon them. Not to mention the 125 per cent call-money rate at the end of 1905, Wall Street was confronted at the opening of January with the highest rate touched at that time of the year since 1878, and with the lowest bank surplus in twenty-six years. The eight per cent rate touched for money in Wall Street during February had been paralleled only in 1896, in 1893, and in 1890—in each of those years under circumstances of peculiar and unusual strain. In the middle of March, money reached nine per cent on the Stock Exchange, another rate paralleled at that period during this generation only in 1903, in 1899, and in 1893. At the same time it had become evident that the demands on capital were of almost unprecedented volume. Up to the end of March, new securities had been announced footing up between $400,000,000 and $500,000,000, which exceeded the total of the full twelve months in years such as 1900, 1902, and 1903, and which surpassed the issues made during the first half of any recent year except 1901. Before the year was far advanced, it became evident that no more of these large bond issues would be taken by the syndicates; and the ominous movement which characterized the year of tied-up capital, 1903—the issue of short-term notes at high rates of interest, in order to avoid sale of long-term bonds at a sacrifice, again came into Wall Street's view. In brief, it could be said at the end of March that the signs of the times were definitely those of warning.

Somewhat paradoxically, that very time was characterized by a spirit of speculative optimism, and of general prediction that the "bull movement" on the Stock Exchange was about to be resumed. On Wall Street, it was commonly stated that the speculative leaders were making preparations to start the machinery of an extensive speculation for the rise as

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soon as the April quarter-day should arrive. In fact, even before the month of April opened, a lively advance in prices was in progress. The immediate sequel was extraordinary. In the face of a general supposition that one day of moderately tight money would end the quarter-day strain, and be followed by really easy money, call loans on the Stock Exchange started at 10 per cent on Monday, April 2, rose to 12 per cent on the 3d, to 19 per cent on the 4th, and to 30 per cent on the 5th. How far this last-named rate departed from the precedents of this season of the year may be judged from the following comparison of the highest call-money rates reached in April during the thirty-five past years:

Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.
1906	30	1897	2	1888	5	1879	7
1905	7	1896	4½	1887	15	1878	11
1904	1¾	1895	3	1886	4	1877	7
1903	11	1894	1½	1885	3½	1876	5
1902	15	1893	15	1884	3½	1875	6
1901	8	1892	2	1883	20	1874	7
1900	5	1891	9	1882	17	1873	270
1899	16	1890	9	1881	29	1872	180
1898	4½	1889	10	1880	51	1871	7

For a time the stock market merely slackened in its pace under this sinister influence. Wall Street, at all events, refused to believe that anything more than temporary and incidental strain was operating. At the end of the week, however, came a bank statement which opened the eyes of every one to the real nature of the situation. At the end of March surplus reserves had been abnormally low for that time of year, their figure, $5,131,000, not having been paralleled at that date since 1890. But a heavy loan expansion during the opening week of April brought about the spectacle, most remarkable for that period, of a deficit of $2,560,000 in bank reserves.

Now, it is true that a deficit in reserves has not been so unusual as to excite particular alarm. There were, it will be remembered, two deficits during the past winter — on November 11 and on December 9. But the deficit of April 7 attracted exceptional interest from the fact that a spring deficiency in reserves has hardly been witnessed during the present generation. The spring-time is the natural period for building up a bank position strong enough to endure the strain of the harvest demand for currency in the summer and autumn months. Hence, it will not be surprising if it is said that no deficit has occurred in any but the late summer or autumn months since 1884. The following record shows when these deficits have come in the past quarter century:

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1906—April 7.
1905—November 11, December 9.
1902—September 20.
1899—November 4, 11, and 18.
1893—July 8, 15, 22, 29; August 5, 12, 19, 26; September 2.
1890—August 16, 23, and 30; September 6 and 13; October 18 and 25; November 8, 15, and 22; December 6.
1889—October 5 and 12; November 9.
1884—May 24 and 31.
1883—March 3, 10, 17, 24, and 31; April 7 and 14; October 20 and 27.
1882—February 25; March 4; September 2, 9, 16, 23, and 30; November 4, 11, 18, and 25.
1881—February 26; March 5; August 20 and 27; September 3; October 1, 8, and 15; December 3, 10, and 17.
1880—April 3 and 10; November 27; December 4 and 11.

Here was another unmistakable warning to the markets.

This showing of the banks sent a very perceptible chill through Wall Street; yet the market, supported by the strong banking and speculative forces already organized to advance it, resisted the tendency to reaction, and in the second week of April surprised all watchers by suddenly resuming its advance. This movement was at first ascribed to a movement of foreign exchange in favor of this market wholly resultant from the tight money in Wall Street. Under ordinary circumstances, the par of sterling exchange is 486⅝, and the point at which gold can be profitably imported is approximately 484¾. Under the influence of heavy borrowings by Wall Street from London, the rate declined, in this second week of April, as low as 482⅞, and an engagement of $3,000,000 or $4,000,000 gold for import from London to New York was at once announced.

But with the announcement of these gold engagements came a sharp recovery in exchange, based obviously on the buying of bills on London to pay for the gold thus obtained. Yet to the surprise of Wall Street, further engagements of gold continued to be announced during the second week of April, notwithstanding the fact that exchange was apparently above the import point. The true nature of the situation was not understood until the close of that week, when the Secretary of the United States Treasury, then in New York City, made the following remarkable announcement:

> The price of exchange having reached the point where gold ought to have been imported, and, believing the reason why it was not engaged to be the loss of its use during transit, the Sub-Treasury at New York was authorized, on Thursday afternoon, to accept bonds available as security to savings banks and to increase the deposit of any national bank desiring to import gold to any amount not exceeding $5,000,000 to any one bank, the same to be returned immediately on the arrival of the gold. On Friday the limit was removed authorizing the acceptance of security and to increase the deposit to any amount when assured that the money would be immediately used in the engagement of gold for shipment to the United States.

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In so far as concerns the purpose of the Secretary's move, his statement explains itself. How far the actual influence of the Treasury's so-called advance free of interest operated to cheapen the import of gold was a point on which difference of opinion at once developed. Similar difference of opinion showed itself in regard to the propriety of the Treasurer's action. For reasons which will be set forth later on, Mr. Shaw's action has come in many quarters to be regarded as a fortunate move. This does not, however, alter in any respect the merits of his policy on general principles. That the Secretary had the right to deposit public money with the banks, no one has questioned. The federal statutes covering such operations merely say that national banks "shall be depositories of public money, except receipts from customs, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary," but that banks holding such government money shall be required "to give satisfactory security, by the deposit of United States bonds and otherwise." This is sufficiently broad authority.

But the question which did arise was what authority the Secretary had to impose such a condition as requirement that the public deposits should be used for importing gold. This could hardly be assigned as one of the "regulations" which "may be prescribed by the Secretary"; that clause referred to safeguards for the Treasury.

This was not all. A very serious objection incurred by an operation of this sort is that the Government, as such, has no business whatever to be meddling in a financial market to advance the interests of anyone but itself. There are instances where governments, our own included, have used their credit facilities to hold or reverse the movement of the foreign exchanges in order to protect the Treasury from a drain on its gold reserve. This was the nature of the famous government bond syndicate contract of 1895, when the Treasury sold a block of new securities, at a price below the market value, to an international banking syndicate, on the understanding that this syndicate would provide the gold which the Treasury had not been able to retain, and would see that, during a given period, gold should not be withdrawn for export purposes.

This contract, arranged by Mr. Carlisle and sanctioned by President Cleveland, was the result of a critical emergency. It was approved by economic force solely on the ground of that emergency, but it has not, in retrospect, been deemed to have permanently solved the Government's dilemma. In any case, it is obvious that the taking of such a step for the sake of guarding the national currency and public credit is a very different thing from acting on similar lines for the benefit either of gold-importing bankers or of a troubled money market.

It was alleged last April, by defenders of Secretary Shaw's special action, that the Bank of France and the Bank of Germany had on occa-

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sion offered precisely such facilities to gold importers when the markets of Paris or Berlin were in need of gold. But to this contention there was the obvious answer that these banks were private institutions, using deposits placed with them on the same terms as those of any ordinary bank; that they presumably saw profit for themselves in the importation; and that, even if they did not, their action none the less would fail to serve as precedent for similar action by a government. Indeed, this part of the discussion narrowed down to the fact that only Russia, among modern governments, had attempted to use its public funds for the purpose of influencing international exchange.

As to the question of the permanent results which these "special facilities" of the Treasury could achieve, it was shown at once that the only outcome of the policy would be the cheapening of the cost of importing gold. To put the matter technically, the gold-import point was raised. Where gold could be imported without government assistance of the sort at $484\frac{3}{4}$, bankers would find a profit with the Treasury facilities at slightly above 485. But this did not mean that gold was bound to flow this way because of such alteration in the gold point. No intelligent financier has at any time contended that the simliar facilities of the Bank of France and the Bank of Germany have actually caused gold exports from any other country. What they did accomplish was to divert to Paris, or Berlin, as the case might be, gold which was already leaving other markets, and which, but for such inducements, might have gone elsewhere than to the market where the facilities were offered.

In March, 1891, John Sherman, then a Senator, drew up a bill providing that higher charges than had theretofore prevailed should be placed by the Treasury on gold bullion given up to exporters. On that occasion, which was a time of large gold exports, hasty reasoners jumped to the conclusion that the gold-export movement would henceforth be obstructive. As a matter of fact, the only outcome of Mr. Sherman's legislation was to raise the gold point and to make it as cheap to export United States coin as to export bullion. Up to that time all exports had been made in gold bullion; during the next three months $60,000,000 of the United States gold coin was sent to Europe. In other words, the tendency of the market remained the same and was in no respect affected by the action of the Treasury.

No other conclusion can be drawn as to Secretary Shaw's move in the matter of gold imports. Had it not been for certain remarkable events which swiftly followed and which reversed immediately the movement of exchange, it is altogether probable that the gold importations which were effected as a consequence of the Treasury facilities would have come abruptly to a close. During the three or four days when the markets were

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in ignorance of the Treasurer's new action, something like $6,000,000 in gold was obtained in Europe. The instant it was known, through Mr. Shaw's announcement, that the gold point had been altered, foreign exchange advanced to a point far above the level where gold could be imported even with the cost of interest in transit removed. Such was the situation in the middle of April, when another event occurred, destined to influence profoundly all the finances of the season.

On Wednesday, April 18, the news of the San Francisco earthquake arrived at the opening of all the markets. The destruction of San Francisco was not accomplished by the earthquake alone, nor in a single day, and at the start financial markets were inclined to minimize the results of the catastrophe. Toward the end of the week, however, the conviction grew rapidly that a serious blow at the prosperity of one section of the country had been dealt, and that the consequences of the disaster on the money market could not easily be measured. In the presence of a new and wholly unfamiliar occurrence of this sort, markets are usually reluctant to draw conclusions; it was not, therefore, until the tangible bearing of the event on bank reserves came into view, through the shipment of currency in large quantities to San Francisco, that the immediate significance of the event began to be appreciated. It will now be interesting to examine into the question of what the destruction of San Francisco really means to the financial prospect — a question by no means settled in the financial mind even yet.

It may be said that there are two lines of argument applied to this question. On the one hand, the natural contention is made that $150,000,000 or more of capital has been absolutely destroyed; that the loss must be made up by drawing on reserves of capital elsewhere; and that, therefore, there necessarily must be less capital to use for other purposes. That a situation of this sort should have occurred when available supplies of capital in this country were already manifestly inadequate for the demands that were pressing on them aggravated the force of this argument. On the other hand, it was answered, and it must be said that the answer is repeated in many quarters where one would not expect it, that the destruction of so huge an amount of property, which must be promptly replaced, creates a new demand both for labor and for the products of industry. The point was made that the building trade in particular, and, in general, all trades connected with the building industry, would necessarily receive a stimulus and be helped in the securing of profits. The laborer must similarly benefit both in San Francisco itself and in the trades on which the new demand falls. As for the question of drawing on supplies of capital needed elsewhere, it was further argued that the bulk of the loss

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incurred at San Francisco would be made good from the reserves of fire insurance companies, and that a very great part of this indemnity — perhaps one-half — would come from foreign markets. As for the waste of capital involved in the destruction of San Francisco buildings, the argument was occasionally heard that, without either earthquake or fire, New York City, for example, is perpetually engaged in tearing down buildings which have been in steady use and of great value, merely to replace them with other buildings which are larger. The waste is not so sudden in this case as in the case of San Francisco, but waste, none the less, exists.

I have stated fairly these two sides of the argument, because there is at least some basis of truth in each. There can, however, be little dispute that the view is correct which assumes outright that destruction of capital is in itself a bad thing, and that wholesale destruction involves a loss and a strain, greater or less, on the world's markets as a whole. The argument that the destruction of San Francisco will cause a business boom through the new demand brought into producing industries merely repeats another still more familiar argument, that war is a good thing industrially for the same reason — that it converges on certain industries a great demand, which increases because of the fact that the products in question are largely destined for building purposes. But the argument of war, as an economic blessing, has not only always been held in just contempt by serious reasoners, but has been visibly exploded by the results of the Boer war and the war between Russia and Japan. In regard to the case last mentioned, European markets are still straitened by the huge demands thrown on them in connection with that struggle, and the English market has not yet recovered from its own waste of capital during the Transvaal contest.

The analogy is fair with San Francisco. But it is not necessary to trust to analogy. We have only to inquire, first, what has actually happened in a financial way since the situation on the Pacific Coast became clearly known, and compare it with what happened in such an interesting parallel situation as the Chicago fire in 1871. That calamity, which occurred on October 8, came on a situation much resembling that which existed on the arrival of the San Francisco news. There had been a famous boom in trade; there was widespread liquidation; bank reserves in New York had been brought so low that the surplus was almost extinguished, and the interior was still drawing currency from New York. On this situation came the Chicago news, showing property losses of probably $200,000,000, offset by insurance liabilities somewhat exceeding $88,000,000. These figures meant more to the country at that time than they would mean to-day. The Chicago fire was followed by postponement of business by the banks until the chaos could be at least temporarily modified; and in this interval very large amounts of currency were shipped from the New York banks, these shipments causing

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heavy reduction of Eastern loans and a violent fall in prices on the Stock Exchange. Thus far it was apparent that the strain was being felt acutely. Yet it is rather a striking fact that within a month currency began to come back from Chicago to New York, the banks having then resumed payments to depositors; and before the year was over the enormous boom which had spread over the country in 1871 seemed to be resumed with redoubled force, leading to the famous climax of speculation which occurred in 1872. The inference, then, so far as one case may be taken as typical, was that Chicago's disaster affected financial markets severely but only temporarily. The difficulty in full application of this argument lies in the fact that 1872 pursued its activities in the face of excessive and abnormal money stringency, and that 1873 brought a terrific reckoning.

With this Chicago precedent in mind, let us see exactly what has happened since the San Francisco incident. I have said already that the shipments of currency to San Francisco soon rose to large amounts. They were needed obviously to guard the situation when the banks should reopen for business, which they did not do until near the end of May. Before the fire, the $40,000,000 individual bank deposits and the $150,000,000, or thereabouts, of savings-bank deposits in San Francisco were guarded as amply as the similar liabilities in any other city. Clearly, however, when credit had been demoralized by the destruction of the city, when people with substantial bank deposits had been living for weeks either on the loans of friends and neighbors, or on virtually the public charity, there was a chance that the reopening of the banks would be followed by a general rush of depositors to get their own money into their hands. How large such demands would be it was impossible to foreshadow; the case was too exceptional. But, obviously, good judgment dictated that the banks should protect themselves in advance against all possible emergency. They, therefore, called for remittances of their Eastern balances, and in addition borrowed in Eastern markets to procure additional currency remittances. By the middle of May these shipments of currency from the East had reached the imposing sum of $40,000,000.

The Eastern markets naturally could not have faced with equanimity such demands on their reserves, coming at the moment when those reserves had proved to be inadequate for immediate needs. It was here, however, that the foreign exchange market showed its real possibilities. I have shown already that the gold-import-facility expedient of Secretary Shaw had apparently reached the limit of its effect just before the San Francisco news came on the markets. That news, however, created a wholly different situation. In the first place, it was at once ascertained that English fire insurance companies would be called upon for indemnity payments to the stricken city, amounting in all, probably, to something between $40,-

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000,000 and $50,000,000. Within a month or two all of this sum would have to be remitted through New York to San Francisco. In anticipation of these large and known remittances, bankers at once sold exchange in New York City. The market fell so far under this new and legitimate pressure that the gold-import point was promptly reached again, and gold to the extent of $45,000,000 obtained for New York from the London and Paris markets.

This, then, was the singular situation created in the money market by the San Francisco fire. The Eastern markets had sent, say, $40,000,000 of their reserves to the Pacific Coast and had almost exactly replaced that loss by gold drawn from Europe. To this extent it might have been supposed that the general market situation would have remained unchanged. There were several reasons, however, why this could not be. In the first place, the unsettlement of so great a disaster had very naturally affected public confidence; in the second place, it was evident that the very payment of these insurance indemnities would involve the selling by the fire-insurance companies of the securities owned by them, or else would necessitate their withdrawal from the general money market of the funds loaned out for their account.

In either case a strain would be put upon both home and foreign money markets. The bank situation could not well have remained unchanged through the mere substitution of European gold for the currency sent to San Francisco. The result was, first, a gradual weakening on the New York Stock Exchange, followed by a break of such violence as to cancel the greater part of the gains made in stocks during the preceding winter. Through this decline and the resultant liquidation of speculative loans by the Stock Exchange, bank liabilities were enormously reduced. At the same time, Wall Street resorted largely to the English and French markets, where large sums were borrowed at rates inviting to the Londoner, and as a consequence, the burden of liabilities was to a still larger extent shifted from New York to Europe.

The net result was an easy money market. In the closing weeks of May, money on call went at three per cent as against the thirty-per-cent rate existing in the opening week of April; and time loans, which during most of the year had held firmly around the six-per-cent rate, declined below four and a half per cent. As to the bearing of these complicated movements on the immediate future, that may be said to depend on several influences whose operation cannot be confidently predicted. In the first place, the question is, what is to happen with the currency sent to San Francisco? There is no reason to suppose that when the banking business is again quietly in progress, and, to a greater or less extent, normal conditions have

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returned, this huge mass of emergency currency will be retained. Sooner or later it will flow out again to the markets where the need of it, either for bank reserves or for the medium of exchange, is greater. Under ordinary circumstances, this would mean that New York itself would get back the bulk of the currency sent to San Francisco, and some of it has already returned at this writing. The doubt of the present arises from the question how far the money markets of the Middle West will have occasion themselves to use the cash released from the Pacific Coast.

This question becomes very interesting from the fact that at the close of May money rates in New York were substantially below the rates prevailing in the West — the difference in both call and time loans running from one to two per cent. A second question arising in the same connection is to what extent the gold sent by Europe could be retained in New York City if the comparatively easy money rates of May were to continue. This is a question which in turn depends very largely on the developments in Europe itself, which must now be noticed.

The action of the European money markets during the past three months has been such as to make extremely difficult any sure judgment of the situation. Like our own banks, the great banks of Europe largely decreased their reserves in the earlier months of the year, and on April 5 the Bank of England, whose rate is an index to the general foreign situation, reduced that rate from four to three and a half per cent, thus fixing a lower figure than it maintained at the corresponding date in 1904, 1903, 1901, or 1900. At the same time the weekly statement of the English bank showed a ratio of reserves to liabilities stronger than that of the opening week of April in any of the past eight years except 1905. It was figured out, at the opening of the quarter which we have under review, that the nine great national banks of Europe showed an increase of gold holdings, as compared with the last week of December, amounting to no less than $123,000,000. This looked like exceptional strength; but the comparison with the opening of April a year ago did not show up so favorably. It is true that the banks of France and Italy had increased, as compared with April, 1905, about $30,000,000 apiece, and that several smaller institutions had also made gains. But against this stood the fact that the Bank of England held in actual gold $6,500,000 less than the year before, while decreases were also shown of $20,700,000 at the Bank of Germany, $70,000,000 at the Bank of Russia, and $10,500,000 at the Bank of Austria. The net decrease for all these institutions, compared with 1905, was very nearly $43,000,000.

This was not on its face a particularly favorable showing when it was recalled how severe was the strain imposed on these same money markets

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by the active trade movement in the latter part of 1905. But, on the other hand, the comparison just given was somewhat misleading from the fact that, but for the $70,000,000 decrease in the gold held by the Bank of Russia, the showing of the banks as a whole would have been better than last year's. The Bank of Russia is not a lender on other markets, and its gold reserve is merely held against outstanding notes; therefore the decrease there was of no particular consequence to the rest of Europe. After all allowances were made, however, the figures showed that, generally speaking, the position of the foreign banks was little, if any, stronger than a year before, and that the English and German markets were distinctly weaker. The French market alone showed a positive increase in financial resources, and in that it undoubtedly reflected the situation of the Paris market. This point should be kept in mind because of the highly important *rôle* which the French market assumed in the later transactions of the past few months.

Notwithstanding this powerful position of the French bank, and the continued easy money on the Paris market, there were few signs at the opening of the past few months that Paris would give relief to other markets. For the tenacity with which that market held to its own capital, there were advanced a number of explanations. The first had to do with the dispute between France and Germany over the irritating Morocco question. This quarrel, if it may so be called, was never taken seriously in political circles, and the somewhat blustering tone assumed by Germany was regarded solely as part of a diplomatic programme. It so turned out to be, when the definite declaration by the Russian delegates at Algeciras, that they would support the main contention of France, led to retreat by Germany from her original ultimatum. But while the dispute continued, the habitual caution of French financiers led them to turn a deaf ear to all propositions for engagements of capital. It is the habit of that market to refer to the famous precedent of the Franco-Prussian War, when the international dispute was not considered seriously on the markets until within two weeks of the actual outbreak of hostilities.

It was predicted freely in the European markets that, with the Morocco question settled, French capital would be placed at the disposal of outside borrowers. But hardly had the German dispute disappeared from the financial scene, when the question of a Russian loan appeared. This loan was regarded as an imperative necessity. During the whole period since the St. Petersburg riots, at the opening of 1905, Russia had only been able to obtain the money requisite for her government through short-term loans. These loans were now approaching maturity, and it was questionable whether they could be extended on the same terms. At the same time, the

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Russian Finance Department had been obliged to face an enormous deficit in public revenue, for which provision must be immediately made if the Government were to continue to pay its maturing bills.

At the start it was expected that $250,000,000 would provide for all the needs of the Russian Government; but it soon appeared that this sum was quite inadequate. After the Algeciras settlement, negotiations between the French and Russian bankers proceeded rapidly, and, toward the close of April, formal announcement was made that a loan for no less than $440,000,000 would be floated. It was originally planned that this loan should be distributed between France, Switzerland, Belgium, England, Holland, Germany, and the United States; and the terms announced were a price of eighty-nine for a five-per-cent loan with fifty years to run, and without the right to redeem or convert until ten years had expired. It will be seen at once that this bid for money was much higher than any made in the recent money markets by Russia or by any other government. It was, in fact, contended that the interest yield was higher than that obtained from any loan issued by any European government, except in time of war, for a generation past. The inducement for subscriptions — always supposing the solvency of Russia to be assured — was, therefore, very great; yet the first discovery of the negotiators was that they could rely on neither Germany nor the United States.

Partial assent had been made by New York financiers to the proposition that $50,000,000 of the Russian loan should be floated in New York; but the thirty-per-cent money market at the opening of April, and the peculiar position in which the life insurance companies, the general subscribers to a Russian loan, now found themselves, put an end abruptly to the negotiations. Germany, it had been calculated, would take between $50,000,000 and 100,000,000; but she refused to subscribe at all, and the refusal was at once put down to political resentment. The theory was that Germany, having provided funds for Russia during the earlier months of 1905, when the Government was in straits and the Paris bankers closed their doors against it, had reckoned with confidence on the support of Russia for its pretentions in the Morocco conference. This expectation had been unpleasantly upset; and the Government, therefore, was determined that no help should be granted to the ungrateful neighbor through the issue of German capital. Whether this theory was correct or not, it is certain that the German bankers would have taken a portion of the loan but for the positive throwing of the Government's influence against it. Naturally, the political argument was not publicly advanced. It was stated, on the contrary, that the impending issue of some large government loans in Berlin itself made it unwise to crowd the market by Russia's loan subscription.

For a time this loss of two subscribing markets caused some apprehen-

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sion as to the ultimate success of the loan. It was found, however, that these absentees could be replaced. On the final distribution of the $440,000,000 issue, France, Belgium, and Switzerland took $240,000,000, London $66,000,000, Vienna $33,000,000, Amsterdam $11,000,000, and St. Petersburg itself no less than $100,000,000. This subscription by St. Petersburg was taken with very considerable skepticism in the financial community, where it is not yet seriously believed that sufficient resources exist in the Russian capital to make possible such a money payment. It was recalled that when an effort was made a year ago to place only $50,000,000 on the Russian market, the savings banks had to be practically forced by pressure from the government to take the bonds, and the interest rate paid to depositors had to be raised to attract the necessary funds.

Of Vienna, too, the general comment was that the large subscription to the Russian loan was either mere pretense, or else was used as a means of granting indirect opportunities to the German bankers to subscribe. The loan flotation was announced, however, as an entire success. In London it was moderately over-subscribed; at Paris applications were so large that in some cases only one per cent of the amount applied for by investors was allotted. Every one knows that over-subscriptions of this sort are often fictitious in their nature. But, in the case of Paris, there can be no doubt that the high rate offered by the Russian government, and the strong endorsement of the loan by the Paris credit institutions, brought about so great a tying up of capital for the purpose of the subscription that, in the end, the actual allotment of the loan, instead of tightening the money markets, actually relieved them.

This was no matter of mere general inference; for the instant the Russian loan had been provided for, markets began to hear of loans by Paris to the other money centres. Beginning in a comparatively small way, this movement increased until, at the time of the San Francisco disaster, French capital and French gold were freely placed at the service of the London market to make good the loss sustained by the shipments to America; and toward the close of May announcement was made that American securities in considerable quantity had been actually placed in Paris. Twelve million dollars short-term bonds of New York City had been placed in that market without difficulty; and later a $50,000,000 short-term bond of the Pennsylvania Railroad was similarly taken. It was not unnatural that so novel an announcement should have encouraged the feeling that the Paris market in its present strong position would be able to relieve the necessities of New York.

The test of the capacity and willingness of Paris to do this service to American finance will provide an interesting spectacle during the balance of the year. It is not safe to accept at once the theory that Paris will do

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this, or the theory that it will not. The French market and the French investor are in many ways peculiar. The Stock Exchange market itself is surrounded by restrictions such as exist on no other financial market — among which is the requirement of a tax on foreign securities introduced into France, a tax so heavy that the cost of such promotion frequently renders the subsequent sale unremunerative. It was this heavy tax which obstructed the effort seriously undertaken during 1901 to place the United States Steel Corporation shares on the Paris Bourse.

On the other hand, a somewhat new device in French finance has been introduced within the past twelve months. It consists in the formation of large banking companies who sell their own stock to French investors under the privileges and immunities of a domestic issue, and then invest the proceeds in such outside securities as American bonds, which thus may find a market without recourse to the Paris Stock Exchange. How far this movement will extend, to what extent it may take the form of virtual absorption of our securities by the French investor, is thus far largely a matter of experiment. What must be admitted at the start is that the temper of the French investor, thus far, has indicated that he will not allow his money to go abroad unless special inducements are offered. Such inducements would not have been offered by our outstanding securities at prices quoted on the New York Stock Exchange during most of the spring.

As against this consideration, there can be no doubt that Paris was a large lender of money in New York on short-term borrowings of our bankers during the past three months. This, however, is nothing new; it merely repeats the experience of 1900 and 1901. The debt thus created is a floating debt which may be peremptorily called in at maturity, even though its payment at that time might be highly inconvienent to the borrower. The existence of an exceptionally large floating debt of this sort standing against us just now on Europe's markets explains the keen anxiety which bankers have displayed to sell on those foreign markets such amounts of long-term investment issues as would practically provide for the taking up of these short-term borrowings without remittances of capital from America.

The financial markets, then, approach the second half of 1906 in a position which perplexes the most experienced observers. Prosperity in every branch of American industry seems to be fairly at the high notch; and the reality of this prosperity is cordially recognized by Europe, which, during the past four years, has been for the most part a sceptical observer. That American industry is extremely profitable, and that American wealth is accumulating at an amazingly rapid rate, are two propositions which

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scarcely admit of question or denial. As to how far our markets, in their enthusiasm to discount so favorable a situation, have extended themselves beyond the capacity even of the present situation to sustain the burden comfortably is a different question. Beyond all these matters of general application stands the problem of the summer and autumn money markets. Last December, last February, and as recently as the first week of last April, the New York money market gave emphatic warnings as to what might be expected in the money market of the autumn. Such a series of warnings rarely occurs without cumulative meaning. Unless the situation has been radically altered, and for the better, by the San Francisco fire, then it would be only wise to look with great caution to the finances of the later months. There still remain to be seen, however, first, what the actual effect of the San Francisco losses will be on American finance in general; secondly, where the great mass of currency sent to the Pacific Coast will go when it moves away from that market; and, thirdly, what the attitude of financial Europe later in the year will be toward the New York markets.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES.

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APPLIED SCIENCE.

In the engineering world, as indeed in nearly all departments of industry, the catastrophe which resulted in the destruction of the greater part of the city of San Francisco forms the salient feature of the past three months. Leaving to others the discussion of the sociological features of the earthquake and its consequent fire, we may here consider, as within the domain of applied science, some of the lessons which the disaster has taught in connection with building construction and fire protection, as well as some of the elements to be considered in the reconstruction of the ruined city.

Briefly, the earthquake shocks which visited the city of San Francisco in the early morning of April 18 produced considerable direct damage by dislocating buildings of inferior and ordinary construction, and caused immense secondary damage by the rupture of gas-mains and consequent conflagration, and by the interruption of the water supply by which alone the fire might have been controlled. Here are involved a number of engineering problems which may be considered entirely apart from the original earth-tremors to which they owed their origin. Thus, in the reconstruction of the wrecked city, there is to be considered not only the capacity of structures to resist earth-vibrations, but also questions of fire-proofing, lighting, and water supply, according to the latest acquirements of applied science, which, in itself, also includes the provision of these essential elements at a minimum of cost.

So far as stability goes, there is no question as to the capacity of the modern structural steel building to resist earthquake shocks; and so far as commercial and industrial buildings are concerned, the steel-cage construction, including such special care as to bracing and foundations as are naturally indicated under the circumstances, is the only form which should be permitted. For buildings of moderate size — the ordinary shops, dwellings, and similar structures — there exists, fortunately, another available system, one which has already been mentioned in other connections in these reviews, namely, that of reinforced concrete. The use of an embedded metallic network within a mass of concrete combines the elements of strength, elasticity, resistance to fire, moderate first cost, and capability for construction by unskilled labor, indicating that the method is applica-

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ble above all others for the reconstruction of practically all parts of San Francisco where the steel-cage building is admissible.

While the general observance of fire-proof construction itself will go a long way toward the prevention of future conflagrations, it should be possible to remove almost entirely the danger of simultaneous fires following an earthquake by the substitution of electric lighting for gas. In this way the danger due to the escape of a combustible would be removed, and the worst which might be expected would be a temporary interruption in lighting. The water-supply question is more difficult; but it appears that the rupture of water mains may be prevented to a great extent by the provision of substantial foundations to the mains, an undertaking in which reinforced concrete again appears to offer valuable possibilities.

Altogether, the engineering problems connected with the rebuilding of San Francisco appear to be capable of entirely successful solutions, both from technical and commerical view-points; and it is possible that the results may not be without their influence in other parts of the world.

It seems to be characteristic of the past few months that engineering work has had to deal with disasters. Scarcely secondary to the catastrophe at San Francisco comes the disaster at the Courrières mine, in the Lens district, France, in which many lives were lost and great damage was wrought. While this event has caused severe criticism of the administration of the particular colliery in question, it has also brought out information concerning the developments of the past few years in connection with the prevention of disasters in mines, and for the rescue work following such occurrences. Almost immediately after the announcement of the explosion and fire at the Courrières mine came the news of the voluntary offer of the Westphalian miners to enter the shafts and workings, using the improved respirating appliances which, in their perfected form, enable the wearer to work in an unbreathable atmosphere for hours at a time. Although the conditions were such that rescue work was especially difficult, the respirators were entirely successful in their operation; and such appliances should certainly be available for immediate use in connection with all collieries in which explosions are possible. Briefly, the apparatus, originally due to Fleuss, in England, but perfected in Germany, utilizes the same body of air over and over again, the exhaled carbonic acid being absorbed by a caustic alkali, while the oxygen is replaced from a compressed supply of the pure gas, carried in a small cylinder.

The disaster at Courrières, so far as can be ascertained, was a combination of fire with gas and dust explosions. It is believed that a fire, probably not uncontrollable in itself, reached a mass of fire-damp accumulated in the older and unused workings, and that the consequent explosion threw

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up great volumes of coal dust, which, forming an explosive mixture with the air and rapidly burning, evolved large volumes of poisonous carbonic oxide. The ventilating system of the mine included the suction of air up one shaft, creating a downward current in another shaft. The explosions so deranged the system of directing partitions in the mine that the suffocating gases were drawn through the entire system of workings.

In order that such an event may be impossible of repetition, it only appears to be necessary to employ methods and appliances already well known and available. In the first place, it should be impossible for ignition of mine gases to take place. Modern safety lamps can be made so that an effective light is given without the possibility of igniting an external atmosphere of explosive or combustible gas. The temptation to force an extinguished lamp open in order to relight it on the spot, instead of returning to the lamp station, is met by the provision of internal relighting primers, operated from without, while the lamp remains securely closed. The arrangement of electric machinery for use in mines has been most thoroughly studied, and experimental tests of electric motors, switches, cut-outs, fuses, and the like, in closed chambers filled with actual fire-damp drawn from the mine, have demonstrated the necessity for enclosing all such appliances in safety casings. By using precautions which have been clearly enough indicated, it is entirely possible to prevent the ignition either of combustible gases or of dust-laden air. The dust may be kept laid, and induced to cake, by judicious sprinkling, and there is every reason to believe that a conscientious observance of well-known precautions is all that is required to render such disasters as that at Courrières impossible.

Notice has already been taken in these reviews of the agitation in Great Britain toward the better conservation of the coal supplies upon which the prosperity of the Empire so much depends. More than a year ago a Royal Commission reported upon the probable duration of the existing available coal resources of the United Kingdom, assuming the practical working depth of the pits as 4,000 feet. The result showed a probable duration of about 200 years, while indicating at the same time a gradual increase in the cost of coal as the shallower and better workings became exhausted. A portion of the report of the Commission related to the extent to which the introduction of more economical methods of using fuel might aid in extending the duration of British coal supplies, and this feature of the question appears to be attracting thoughtful attention.

It has been shown that of the total coal consumption in Great Britain about one-half is used for the generation of mechanical power, while three-tenths is consumed in other industrial purposes, and one-fifth for domestic uses. The largest item, that of power production, is also one including

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great wastes; and it has been clearly shown that at least one-half of this consumption might be saved, both by the substitution of the most economical steam engines for the small and wasteful machines so generally used, and, better still, by the use of gas engines in place of the less efficient steam engine and boiler. It has been suggested long ago that a great advantage would result from the conversion of coal to gas at the mines, the gaseous fuel being piped to the cities and other points of application, as far as necessary. To this plan there has been added another modification, which seems not unreasonable. By producing the gas at the mines, and compressing it to six or eight atmospheres on the spot, it can be used to transmit power directly, in the same manner as is already done in Paris and elsewhere with compressed air. After having been used to drive compressed-air motors, the gas, still retaining its full calorific value, can be delivered into holders, ready as fuel for gas engines or for domestic consumption. The idea is really to utilize the elastic force of the delivered gas to recover a portion of the energy required for its initial compression, thus making it, at one and the same time, a medium for the transmission of mechanical energy, cheaply generated at the mines, and also a source of supply of clean and efficient fuel thereafter.

There is no doubt that the life of the coal supplies of Great Britain might be very materially prolonged by the general introduction of gas for steam power, and it is quite possible that some such incentive may be necessary to effect the change from the older to the more modern and scientific method of power generation.

In the generation of power from heat by means of steam, there are two principles utilized: the expansive force of the steam itself, and the pressure of the atmosphere obtainable by the condensation of the exhaust steam, producing a vacuum, and thus relieving the back pressure otherwise existing. In the early development of the steam engine, by far the greater proportion of the power produced was derived from the vacuum; but with the advent of higher steam pressures made possible by improvements in boiler design and materials, the vacuum has taken a secondary position, and in many instances the condenser has been altogether omitted and the exhaust steam allowed to discharge directly into the atmosphere.

With the development of the steam turbine, however, it has been shown that the attainment of a high efficiency is largely dependent upon the maintenance of a good vacuum, so that there has naturally followed a reinvestigation of the scientific questions included in the efficient condensation of steam and the maintenance of the lowest possible pressure in the condenser. The result has been some remarkable improvements in the appa-

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ratus used for the condensation of steam, especially in connection with the so-called surface condenser, in which the exhaust steam is delivered into a chamber in which are fitted a great number of tubes through which cold water is kept flowing. By observing a few ordinary laws, and without any material change in principle or construction, the efficiency of such condensers has been doubled or trebled so far as dimensions and quantity of water are concerned, while at the same time a better vacuum is maintained.

Thus, experiments by Prof. Weighton, made at the Armstrong College at Newcastle-on-Tyne, have shown that by the division of a surface condenser into a number of parts, draining the water produced by the condensed steam from each section as soon as it forms, the tubes are freed from the surrounding water to such an extent as to render their cooling action far more efficient. With a surface condenser of the old type, the rate of condensation was found to be about ten pounds of steam per square foot of tube cooling surface per hour; while the mere improvement in drainage, combined with a better distribution of the cooling surface and condensing water, gave a rate of twenty pounds of steam condensed per square foot per hour. This result was accomplished with a condenser one-half the size of the old form, and with a consumption of but one-half the amount of cooling water. The importance of these results will be appreciated when it is remembered that such surface condensers form an important portion of every marine engine, and that they are now installed in practically all the large steam-power electric stations.

I have referred more than once in these reviews to the growing importance of the engineer in economic and commercial matters, and this side of the application of science to daily life is becoming continually more apparent. An important department of engineering, closely related to commercial affairs, is found in the work of the telephone engineer, a department of applied science of comparatively recent growth. The old idea of the telephone engineer was what might be termed a "switchboard man"; but the scope of his work has now acquired a far wider significance. Naturally, the technical departments of telephone engineering relate to line construction, the arrangement of exchanges, and the general details of construction work; but beyond these, and usually long before they are reached, comes the preparation of plans for the entire occupation of a given territory, including the extent and distribution of the service, provision for future work, and entire operative conditions for a period of years ahead. To this must be added the exercise of judgment as to possible changes in the art and the construction of the entire mechanism of the system, bearing in mind the fact that a system once put into operation must be maintained at its full working efficiency continually, such a thing as interruption of

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service not being considered in any case short of entire destruction of the plant. In the modern telephone system there has grown up a relation between the engineering and the business departments which is probably closer than exists in any other department of industrial activity, and this by reason of the insistent demands of the commercial side of an undertaking based wholly upon a scientific discovery in the laboratory.

Although there has been continual progress of late in the development of electric traction for main-line railway service, this fact does not seem to have retarded the growth of the steam locomotive. The results of the trials made on the testing plant of the Pennsylvania Railroad at St. Louis, as already noted in THE FORUM, have shown that the modern steam locomotive is a machine of excellent efficiency; and it seems to be generally conceded that, whatever progress may be made in the near future in electric traction for passenger service, the steam locomotive will continue to be used for many years for long distance hauls for heavy freight trains. Under such conditions, and with the well-demonstrated commercial economy of the heavy train load, it is easy to see good reasons for the increase in weight and power of freight locomotives during the past few years. As long ago as 1888, Mr. M. N. Forney stated it to be his belief that by 1918 the passenger locomotive would attain a weight of 200,000 pounds. The fact shows that engines of 230,000 pounds weight have already come into service. Mr. Forsyth said, in 1900, that freight locomotives of 311,000 pounds weight would be built by 1905. As a matter of fact, the Mallet articulated compound locomotive shown at St. Louis weighed 334,000 pounds. The large freight locomotive of to-day has a tractive power nearly seventy per cent greater than that of the engine of ten years ago, and the train loads have increased in about the same proportion. In general, it may be said that within the past ten years the train-load has been fully doubled, while the ton-mile cost has lessened to about two-thirds of what it was at the beginning of the same period. This increase in the total weight of trains, together with the great increase in the concentrated weights on driving wheels, has necessitated the strengthening, and even the reconstruction, of many bridges and viaducts. The great increase in the amount of capital invested in these large engines has rendered it essential that these costly machines be idle as little as possible, and worked up to their full earning capacity for the maximum proportion of the time.

Not so very long ago, one of the strongest arguments advanced against the introduction of electric traction in main-line service was the statement as to the value of the investment already tied up in steam locomotives, and the impracticability of scrapping such a mass of valuable machinery within

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a short time. It now appears, however, that even with the continuance of steam traction the developments in locomotive construction are such that the machines must earn their retirement in a few years, since they are certain to become obsolete long before they are worn out, or if not entirely obsolete, at least unfitted to render the highly efficient service demanded by modern traffic conditions.

For some time experiments have been conducted in Switzerland upon the use of continuous electrical currents of high voltage for the long-distance transmission of power, and the later results have much in them of interest. Until recently it was assumed that the only way in which the necessary high voltage, or electrical pressure, for economical long-distance transmissions could be secured was to use the alternating current, this permitting the employment of transformers both for raising the pressure at the one end of the line and lowering it again at the other; the high voltages, 40,000, 60,000, or even 80,000 volts, being used only on the line wire.

The Swiss experiments on the St. Maurice-Lausanne line demonstrated that a pressure of 20,000 volts was practicable with the direct current; and, in consequence, the "Compagnie de l'Industrie Electrique," of Geneva, is carrying the investigations still further. By running three 20,000 volt direct-current dynamos in series, or tandem, as the general observer might call it, pressures of 60,000 volts are obtained; and the success which attended the preliminary trials has led to the installation of this system upon the Moutiers-Lyons line, 108 miles in length, the working of which will soon demonstrate the practical operation of the plan.

Among the advantages of the direct current will be found the minimizing of induction effects, rendering the use of underground cables possible; while for over-head lines some of the insulation difficulties are expected to be materially reduced. Should the results on the Moutiers-Lyons line prove commercially satisfactory, it is believed that pressures as high as 100,000 volts may be tried with the direct current, and experiments to that end are already under way.

Effort in automobile construction and improvement is gradually being diverted from the freak racing machine to the more rational commercial vehicle and to the road carriage for reasonable highway travel. Builders and designers appear to have realized that machines intended solely for the maintenance of excessively high speeds during limited periods of time do not aid in the determination of points of structural value for the general vehicle. In consequence, the automobile clubs both in England and America are following the lead of the Automobile Club of France in instituting

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various practical endurance trials, thus securing available working data for the improvement of the self-propelled vehicle of every type.

Thus, the so-called "two-gallon" test, conducted recently by the Automobile Club of America, gave valuable information upon the effective energy obtainable from the amount of fuel readily carried by the ordinary road vehicle. Such a trial has the merit of both simplicity and accuracy. By the mere operation of measuring out to each of the contestants the standard quantity of fuel, and then noting the place on the route where the exhaustion of the fuel supply compelled the stop, the control was reduced to its simplest elements. The result showed that two gallons of gasoline sufficed to operate vehicles carrying two passengers for a distance of nearly 100 miles on ordinary roads, a fact which was previously considered altogether doubtful or uncertain. It must be remembered, however, that the fuel is but one element, and possibly not the controlling element, in the running cost of automobiles. Future trials might well include the wear and tear on tires, and general repair work necessary after a run, and thus lead to possible detection of weak points in construction, material, or design.

One of the most fruitful departments in industrial automobilism during the past few months has been found in the introduction of the motor omnibus. Both in London and in Paris the self-propelled omnibus has been rapidly introduced, displacing the former horse-drawn vehicle to such an extent as to change the appearance of the street traffic very materially. At the present time, there are nearly 300 motor omnibuses running in London, with orders in for 1,000 more, while in Paris, notwithstanding the handicap inflicted by reason of the double tax of the *douane* and the *octroi* upon gasoline, the General Omnibus Company is rapidly equipping its service with machines.

Of course, it cannot be expected that the motor omnibus can compete in point of cheapness or capacity with the electric street railway. But there are many places into which the railway cannot penetrate, which are well served by the omnibus; and both in London and in Paris it is extremely doubtful if the surface railway can ever obtain access as it has done in many American cities. Under such conditions, the surface transport may well be supplied by the motor omnibus, leaving the transportation of passengers in bulk to be effected by underground electric railways, as is already done in both the European capitals.

There is little doubt that the passage of the bill relieving alcohol from the heavy revenue tax in the United States will prove a powerful incentive to the development of internal-combustion motors for all purposes. It has long been foreseen that the supply of gasoline, itself a by-product of the

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petroleum refining industry, must prove inadequate to meet the demand for a volatile liquid fuel, suitable for use in the engines of automobiles, motor boats, and the like. At the same time, there is available for conversion into alcohol such a variety of material as to render the amount produced dependent mainly upon the demand. As is well known, alcohol suitable in every way for liquid fuel of the highest class can be produced very cheaply from all kinds of vegetable matter — from corn, from beet-sugar refuse, and by the Classen process from ordinary sawdust, that bulky waste product of so many mills all over the country. The new industries which must naturally follow the liberation of this new source of energy can readily be imagined. Even at the present time there are nearly 5,000 internal-combustion motors in Germany alone using alcohol fuel, not including automobiles, while the possibilities in the United States are infinitely greater.

The motor boat is generally assumed to be a small high-speed vessel, equipped with an automobile engine, and operated mainly as a pleasure craft. The application of the combustion motor to larger vessels, however, is making steady progress, and there is every reason to expect that for many purposes the gas-propelled boat will become a standard vessel of commercial transport. Especially since the development of the suction gas-power plant has the applicability of this form of motor to marine propulsion been developed. A pioneer in this department of engineering work is Herr Capitaine, who has effected some practical results in Germany which show the high efficiency and economy of the system very clearly. The early gas-power boats were of small dimensions, but made the fair speed of ten knots with good economy. More recently there has been conducted a comparative test of much interest. A gas-propelled boat, forty-four feet three inches long, by ten feet six inches beam, with engines of seventy horse-power, was run from Hamburg to Kiel and back, accompanied by a steamboat of the same dimensions and powering. The boats were driven at a speed of eight and five-tenths knots. But, while the steamship burned 1,820 pounds of steam coal, the gas-propelled craft required but 530 pounds of coal, or less than one-third the amount of fuel. There is now in operation on the Rhine, between Rotterdam and Cologne, a gas-driven barge of 200 tons displacement; and plans have been made for engines of over 1,000 horse-power, and cargo steamers of 7,000 tons displacement, with gas propulsion. Therefore, the system appears to be well past the experimental stage.

Much has been written of late about the desirability of protecting Niagara Falls from further diminution by the abstraction of water for the de-

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velopment of hydraulic power. It is altogether possible that joint action may be taken by the governments of the United States and Canada to this end. The question is a large one, however, much larger than at first appears. To the casual observer, the control and protection of both banks of the river for some distance above and below the falls would seem to serve the purpose, it being the popular opinion that the falls themselves are the real source of hydraulic power. The actual source of hydraulic energy, however, exists in the mass of water stored in the upper lakes, and any way in which this can be tapped to a lower outlet will serve to develop power at the expense of the flow over the falls. At the present time, a portion of the water from Lake Erie passes out through the locks of the Welland canal, and it is quite possible that a large power plant might be there established, regardless of any control of the falls at Niagara.

A still more imminent draft upon the waters of the upper lakes for power appears in the construction of the power plant in connection with the Chicago drainage canal. This canal, as is well known, was constructed to reverse the direction of the current in the Chicago river, carrying its discharge for a distance of twenty-eight miles to the Desplaines River, which empties into the Illinois River, and thence into the Mississippi. The original draft of the drainage canal from Lake Michigan was 300,000 cubic feet of water per minute. It has been planned to double this flow in connection with the works designed to use this discharge for the generation of power. It has been computed that a head of thirty-two feet can be obtained at the end of the main canal; which, with the discharge of 600,000 cubic feet, will enable at least 27,000 horse-power to be obtained. Thus, the plant originally intended to prevent the waters of Lake Michigan from pollution by the sewage of the city of Chicago, and to enable that city to secure a pure supply of drinking-water from the lake, will enable a valuable source of hydraulic energy to be developed, and incidentally cause a diminution in the flow over the falls at Niagara.

The rapid development of the telephone in the United States of late is a matter of especial interest as shown in the statistics which have recently been made public. Thus, in 1905 there were in the United States 3,400,000 telephones, as against 1,486,000 in Europe. For 1902, the latest year for which the detailed statistics are available, it appears that each person in the United States used a telephone sixty-five times in the year, and that each telephone was used more than 2,000 times. The average revenue per message was one and seven-tenths cents, and the average cost one and one-tenth cents.

There is no doubt that the message-rate system, by which the revenue and the cost to the subscriber depends upon the number of calls, has been

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a powerful incentive to the extension of the use of the telephone. The flat-rate system, requiring a fixed yearly price for an indefinite number of calls, gave no inducement to the company to improve the service, and resulted in the overcrowding of lines within a limited area. The message-rate system has put the companies on their mettle to increase the business by providing every possible facility to the customer, while at the same time the service is distributed over a wider area with a corresponding increase in efficiency.

Some time ago, I mentioned that, from the start, the Simplon tunnel was to be operated electrically. Although this statement was contradicted in some quarters, its accuracy has been borne out by the fact. On May 19 the tunnel was formally opened by the King of Italy, thus officially completing the great work commenced in the autumn of 1898. The event is being celebrated by an exposition, to continue during the summer, in the city of Milan, this exposition being appropriately devoted to methods of transportation and allied lines of engineering development.

The locomotives to be used at first for the Simplon traffic were originally constructed for the service of the Valtellina railway in Northern Italy, and are intended for three-phase electric current with a pressure of 3,000 volts. The new locomotives now under construction for regular use in the tunnel are also for three-phase current, and are to be of sixty-two tons weight and a maximum of 2,300 horse-power, divided between two motors, these engines being intended to traverse the twelve and one-fourth miles of tunnel in about twenty minutes. The difficulties at first experienced from the warmth and moisture in the tunnel are being rapidly overcome notwithstanding the alarmist statements to the contrary. All smoke, gases, and similar inconveniences will thus be avoided in the tunnel from the start, and it seems probable that the demonstrated advantages of electric traction for such service will lead to similar locomotives being demanded for the St. Gothard and the Mont Cenis routes, as well as for the numerous tunnels on the Italian railways.

The question as to the provision of adequate connections for the Simplon route, by the French railways, is still undecided. Until some effective action is taken in this respect, France must remain without the advantages to which she is properly entitled by the opening of the new route.

It is always difficult to predict the duration or limitations of any department of applied science. Many years ago water-power was supposed to have been definitely superseded by steam, except for certain favored localities in which the natural hydraulic power was so located as to permit the close and convenient building of mills and provision of transportation

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facilities. Since the development of electrical transmission, however, it has been found possible to utilize water-powers in many locations altogether impracticable under the old conditions, and this has led to numerous improvements in the hydraulic machinery for such service. One of the demands especially required of any prime mover for the operation of electrical machinery is an effective method of speed control. With the improvements in water-power machinery there appears an interesting development of governors for securing uniform speed to the electric generators. In nearly every case the large water-powers used for the modern hydro-electric station are sufficiently constant in their flow as to be free from sudden fluctuations, so that the principal variation to be met by the governor is that due to changes in the load.

The principles of speed regulation for steam engines have been carefully worked out, and with such success that almost any desired degree of control may be secured. In the case of water-power the conditions are more difficult. The speed of a large wheel can be controlled only by opening or closing heavy gates, often under high pressures, and any change thus caused in the flow of the water has to overcome the inertia of a large mass of fluid, which, unlike steam, is both heavy and inelastic. The method naturally adopted is that of using auxiliary power to operate the gates through which the water flows, leaving to the governor, usually of the centrifugal fly-ball type, the lighter duty of controlling the operation of the auxiliary power by which the flow of water is increased or diminished. Many variations of this idea have been constructed, and the principal difficulty encountered is that of "over-running," as it has been termed, the speed being alternately too high and too low, causing an oscillation in the velocity which appears in the electric current produced by the dynamos which are driven by the wheels.

At a recent meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, this question of the speed regulation of water-wheels was thought of sufficient importance to be made the subject of a symposium, papers being contributed by a number of engineers who have made a specialty of the matter. From this discussion it appears that the practical difficulties have gradually been overcome. Indeed, the modern water-wheel governor appears to have reached a degree of perfection which gives it qualities closely resembling reason in human beings. The mechanical details by which the combination of sensitiveness, power, and self-restraint have been provided in an inanimate piece of machinery cannot be described here without going too deeply into mechanical technology. It is sufficient to note that the result has been attained not by any sudden, brilliant stroke of inventive genius, according to the former conception of that term, but rather by the combination of the painstaking, systematic efforts of a num-

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ber of independent engineers, extending over a long period of time, and involving the exercise of that kind of genius which has been described as an infinite capacity for taking pains.

Some months ago mention was made of the problems which had been encountered in Egypt in connection with the proposed extension of the irrigation works. The great dam at Assouan was made the object of critical investigation, both as to its present stability and to the possible danger to be incurred by giving to it the six metres additional height which is necessary to obtain the full benefit of the storage capacity for the Nile flood. The mathematical investigations of Atcherley and Pearson, showing that the full magnitude and distribution of the shearing stresses in the masonry had not been previously determined, still remain uncontroverted. This does not mean that the dam, in its present condition, is in any danger; but it may account for the absolute silence of Lord Cromer, in his recent report, concerning the raising of the dam to the height which was originally contemplated. As the work now stands, it acts merely as a regulator to the otherwise varying flow of the Nile; and Lord Cromer takes especial care to state that the Assouan dam and the barrage at Assiout must not be considered as means for bringing a large area of fresh land under cultivation. As a matter of fact, the dam supplies less than one-fourth of the water really necessary for the proper development of Egyptian agriculture; and, as Sir William Willcocks has very clearly pointed out, at least two of the three milliards of cubic metres of water necessary might readily be supplied by the utilization of the Wady Raiyan as a storage reservoir, in accordance with the well-known plans of Mr. Cope Whitehouse. This solution of the problem is persistently ignored by Lord Cromer at the present time, although it was formerly admitted by him to be of the greatest value.

Much work has been done in the construction of a solid masonry apron, downstream, of the dam sluices, in order to check the disintegration of the river-bed and possible undermining of foundations by the hydraulic scour of the discharge of water through the sluices. This scour was becoming a very serious matter, and the promptness with which it has been remedied shows how fully the danger was realized. Equally prompt action in the construction of the very moderate works needed to enable the natural storage reservoir to be utilized could not fail to be of the utmost value to Egypt.

Although there have been no material developments in aeronautical matters since our last review, there has appeared an increasing interest in all that pertains to aerial navigation. An example of that interest appears in the plan again to attempt to solve the secret of the North Pole by a voyage through the air. It is now nearly ten years since the ill-fated Andrée

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left Spitzbergen, never again to be seen. But Andrée's balloon was but a drifting gas bag, while Mr. Wellman now proposes to make the attempt in a modern dirigible balloon, constructed according to the latest experiences of Santos-Dumont, Renard, Surcouf, Hervieu, and other experts. It is believed that by starting from North Spitzbergen, the journey can be made in about ten days, and that it may be possible to construct a machine capable of remaining in the air from twenty to twenty-five days. The expedition, which is planned under the auspices of a Chicago newspaper, is on a large scale, the estimated cost being $250,000, and a staff of thirty-five men being required for the equipment. The general plans for the dirigible have been made by M. Louis Godard, the balloon being fifty metres in length, and sixteen metres at its greatest diameter. When inflated with hydrogen it will have a lifting power of more than 7,000 kilogrammes, or nearly 16,000 pounds. Two motors, one of fifty and one of twenty-five horse-power, are to be used, and since the art of gasoline-motor construction has reached a point where weights of seven and five-tenths pounds per horse-power are attainable, the motors will weigh less than 600 pounds. It is proposed to carry five men, and the whole scheme has every appearance of being worked out most carefully in detail. With the endorsement of such a body as the board of managers of the National Geographic Society, the expedition is given a scientific status which raises it distinctly above anything of the kind which has hitherto been attempted.

HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE.

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THE DRAMA.

THERE are some materials for permanency in the record of the dramatic season of 1905–06, now at its close. It will be memorable, not only for its significant failures and for a success or two that may prove "epoch-making," but also on account of a number of adventitious circumstances, happenings, and developments destined to influence in important ways the future of the American stage. The immediate and substantial appreciation of such representative high-class plays as "Peter Pan," "The Girl of the Golden West," "The Lion and the Mouse," "The Squaw Man," "The Walls of Jericho," and "The Duel"; the enthusiastic welcome extended to the world's greatest living actress, Sarah Bernhardt; the fuller recognition accorded our own representative players, Mansfield, Sothern and Marlowe, and Mantell; the artistic object-lessons afforded by the performances of Paul Orleneff and his company of Russian artists; the crystallization of the long-talked-of ideas for a "National," or New, Theatre, into a practical and financially assured project — these things alone would suffice to make the passing theatrical year notable.

In addition, there is the fact that, despite the competition of one of the longest and most brilliant opera seasons New York has ever known, and of the Hippodrome with its daily audiences of ten thousand, the public's interest in and support of the theatre has augmented rather than fallen away. While criticism and poetry, so far as their purely literary function is concerned, in these latter years have gone into lamentable decline, the signs of their renascence in the drama are equally unmistakable. And it is in this broader dramatic expression that poetry — as Dr. Churton Collins declares in one of his recent essays — "should fill the same place in our system of education as it filled in that of the ancient Greeks, and become the medium not merely of æsthetic, but of religious and moral, discipline."

"Peter Pan" inevitably takes precedence in a review of the season's noteworthy plays. It stands alone not only among the works of Mr. Barrie, but probably in the world's theatre, since "A Midsummer Night's Dream." In this story of the faun-like boy who wouldn't grow up to be a humdrum human man, and who associated with fairies and children exclusively, we have the essence of poetry, satire, and sheer fun, with the

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noble instincts and chivalrous aspirations as well as the amiable foibles of humanity, seen through the clear and magic lens of a child's imagination. Mother-love and nature-love are the potent influences throughout. The whole iridescent fabric seems to have arisen, as Schlegel thought the "Dream" of Shakespeare did, by "some ingenious and lucky accident"; taking on such variegated, evanescent aspects of wildwood, sea, and sky, that we tremble lest it all be blown away with a breath. A very considerable part of the luck of this extraordinary piece, as presented at the Empire Theatre, New York City, was in the casting of Maude Adams for the part of the boy-hero, Pan. Hers is ever an eerie, elusive, sprite-like personality — her very voice carries the wistful sweetness of April weather. Moreover, unlikely as it might seem, the consummate technical art of the actress who has played Juliet, L'Aiglon, and Lady Babbie finds in this embodied fairy-tale a wider, freer scope than ever before it enjoyed. Miss Adams has been supported, too, by rather a happy aggregation of talents, both juvenile and adult, among which it would be wellnigh impossible to omit passing mention of Mildred Morris as Wendy, the little mother, and Ernest Lawford, who doubles the delectable Mr. Darling with a very terrible one-armed pirate captain, named Hook.

David Belacso's "Girl of the Golden West" and Edwin Milton Royle's "Squaw Man," while contrasted to one another in some essential points of construction and dramatic principle, come in for simultaneous consideration, because both are the work of authors whose practical association with the stage has been intimate and lifelong. Both plays draw their material and human interest from our native American frontier or mining life, chiefly in that picturesque phase of development known as

"The days of old, the days of gold,
The days of '49."

And both are rich in realistic life-characterization, in the combination of homogeneous groups of typical living men and women in action, with motives that appeal to us as vital to-day — the complete antithesis of the individual "star" system, with one character looming out of all proportion to the common standard of humanity, and the others dwindling to puny insignificance far below it.

"The Girl of the Golden West" — incarnate in Blanche Bates, who is herself a daughter of California — is one of the good old melodramatic Bret Harte sort; and the savage, uncouth men who woo and fight for her in the mining-camp saloon of Cloudy Mountain are of the same ilk. This is no disparagement, but the highest possible praise; for Bret Harte's M'liss, Miggles, Jack Hamlin, Heathen Chinee, and all the rest, are sublimated types, evolved through the alchemy of imaginative genius,

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of those bygone people whom the literal history of early California can only vaguely generalize as "coming from God knows where, their very names soon lost and unrecorded, and who struggled, laughed, gambled, cursed, killed, loved, and worked out their strange destinies in a manner incredible to us of to-day." In a lone cabin on the mountain-side, the isolation of which is expressed through scenic panorama in the most "atmospheric" Belasco style, two desperate men — one of them the gambler-sheriff, Jack Rance, a most vivid and masterly piece of character acting by Frank Keenan, the other a somewhat romantic "road agent," played by Robert Hilliard — cut the cards in a game of life and death, the Girl to be the prize of the winner. This tumultuous climax is reached, with unconventional directness, as early as the second act, leaving act three and the epilogue to settle down peacefully on the symbolistic tableau of the Girl and her redeemed desperado-lover quitting their mountains and travelling Eastward, at sunrise.

"The Squaw Man" has no such great, tense, or terrific single scene; and its first act, being laid in England, is out of key with the remainder of the play. But its singularly moving story — that of a young Englishman who in brotherly self-sacrifice quits home under a cloud, comes to our wild West, and is joined by fate to an Indian child-wife whom he is not cowardly enough to desert — is symmetrically developed to its pathetic end. William Faversham enacts the title rôle with a suggestion of the heroic modesty of nature. Theodore Roberts, as Tabywana, the peace chief of the Utes, gives the most strikingly realistic portrayal of the native red man ever seen on the stage, which would suffice forever to obliterate the Metamoras, Hiawathas, and Fenimore Cooper redskins of conventional American drama, had not those legendary figures long since faded out, in their own unreality. Tabywana speaks all his part in the actual Ute language with such skilful effect as to make Baco White, the interpreter, who is a genuine, full-blooded Indian, seem almost artificial by comparison.

"The Walls of Jericho," Alfred Sutro's blunt but effective arraignment of the sins of the so-called "smart set" society, received here the same emphatic and general commendation that it won in England the season before. Its interpretation at the Savoy Theatre, New York, in the hands of the company headed by James K. Hackett and Mary Mannering, equalled, if it did not in some respects improve upon, that in London. It is a typical British comedy of manners. The hero, a stalwart self-made millionaire from the Australian gold-fields, who has married the sound-hearted but almost spoiled daughter of an impoverished nobleman, buys his way into Mayfair society, then turns and swears roundly at such of its vices as may be mentioned with strict propriety in the drawing-room — bridge-playing, luxurious idleness, illicit flirtation, cynical gossip, shirking

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of the duties of motherhood, mercenary marriages, and insistence upon family pride of caste, coupled with a total disregard of true family honor. But no bones are broken, and all ends happily, after the moral lesson has been duly expounded and rubbed in. There is a wholesome sincerity about this play that is refreshing. Its characters are convincing, and therefore interesting; their persiflage and serious colloquy alike being for the most part engagingly natural — except where, toward the finish, it becomes rather too wise and good for human nature's daily food.

Mr. Sutro's other New York success, "The Fascinating Mr. Vanderveldt," in which Ellis Jeffreys and Frank Worthing acquitted themselves with their wonted brilliancy, proved a much lighter affair than the "Walls of Jericho." Perhaps on this very account it ought to gain for its author additional credit and renown. Instead of a moral, it tended to convey what might be termed an un-moral — to the effect, namely, that kindly and fascinating wicked people are, on the whole, rather less reprehensible than boresome righteous ones; also, that a tactful sense of humor in a woman may be more of a saving grace than discreet regard for appearances. However, to establish this latter debatable proposition, the playwright was compelled to invent a modern Sir Galahad, in the person of a magnanimous army officer, who is only too willing to marry the flippant Lady Clarice, unheeding the well-laid plans for her compromise devised by the dangerous Mr. Vanderveldt.

Henri Lavedan's loudly-heralded Théâtre Français triumph, "The Duel," translated into vigorous English by Louis N. Parker, and presented with a cast including such eminent players as Otis Skinner, Guy Standing, Eben Plympton, and Fay Davis, could not fail to bring out the reserves of our best class of theatre-goers, who persist in regarding the drama as something more than an empty amusement or pastime. In this instance, they were not disappointed; for "The Duel," written by a French Academician who happens to be interested in the problems of his own period, and at the same time a skilled theatrical craftsman, proved to be intellectually stimulating in an unusual degree. The "duel" involved is not a melodramatic, but a spiritual, one — the conflict between sacred and profane love, or, more concretely, the struggle of two estranged brothers, one a priest and the other an agnostic scientist, to win the heart and soul of a woman. This, of course, is a tremendous theme, and in France to-day it epitomizes the sadly perturbed relations of Church and State. Deprived of this element of timeliness here, M. Lavedan's play, powerful as it is polemically, fell short in its sentimental appeal. Not only was its mawkish and semi-hysterical atmosphere uncomfortable, but in the end the author seemed to shirk the moral issue he had so strenuously raised, leaving reason baffled and logic unsatisfied. The Duchesse de Chailles

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vacillates between her spiritual adviser and her debauché husband's physician, in a manner scarcely suggestive of moral elevation. With all the sound and fury expended, these three principal characters, in their mutual relations, remain toward the end of the last act precisely where they were at the beginning of the first. Finally, the young priest is despatched by his bishop to a leper settlement in the far East; but even then the doctor could not marry the duchess, except for the accident of the dissipated duke, her husband, falling out of a window and being killed. In other words, "The Duel" is not fought out to a finish; and its dénouement, whether right or wrong, comes only by a fluke. Nevertheless, M. Lavedan must be credited with the uncommon achievement of having dramatically articulated a vital topic of the time.

Not dissimilar to "The Duel" in purpose and fulfilment of actuality, perhaps, is "The Lion and the Mouse," a comedy-drama of twentieth-century finance and the American billionaire, written by Charles Klein, the author of David Warfield's perennial "Music Master." This furnishes, superficially, brighter and more facile entertainment than does the French play; but it enforces no such conviction of earnestness and reality. Mr. Klein's formidable Wall Street magnate, who makes martyrs of upright judges and conducts a prosperous traffic in United States Senators, yet at the same time falls an easy victim to the neat little machinations of the young woman magazine writer, is about as life-like as the vitagraph. He is, however, a bona fide and first-hand "living picture" of a billionaire — if not as he is, as least as he ought to be — exhibited with laudable moral purpose, in a manner warranted not to shock propriety or unduly to exercise the emotions.

Of the less pretentious offerings, rather an unusually large number seem to have hit the several varieties of metropolitan taste, and to have attracted paying patronage. In these scorings, as well as in the miss-fires and downright fiascos of the season, we have once again to note numerous instances of "reversal of form," in players and playwrights, which make the drama as much a game of hazard as horse-racing.

While George Ade's "Bad Samaritan" proved an unequivocal failure, and his "Just Out of College" only a *succès d'estime*, R. C. Carton's British-built farce of "Mr. Hopkinson," with an unheard-of Cockney comedian named Dallas Welford in the title rôle, has fairly run away with the record for roaring farcicality. Francis Wilson scaled new heights of merriment in a mosaic adaptation of "The Mountain Climber"; but Raymond Hitchcock, in "The Galloper," by Richard Harding Davis, made little or no headway. The combined vogue of Clyde Fitch as author and Viola Allen as actress could not make "The Toast of the Town" go; nor did

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Henrietta Crosman find in Eugene Presbrey's "Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary" anything like a duplicate of her former comedy successes. Rupert Hughes's "The Triangle," Sidney Rosenfeld's "The Optimist," and Winston Churchill's "The Crossing" and "The Title Mart," all cruelly disappointed great expectations, as did "La Belle Marseillaise," specially imported for Virginia Harned. Olga Nethersole's version of "The Labyrinth," by Paul Hervieu, was as much a shock as Henry Miller's production of H. V. Esmond's gruesome "Grierson's Way"; while James K. Hackett was dumfounded at the total failure of critics and public alike to make anything out of "The House of Silence." But this same public unmistakably approved of little Miss Elsie Janis in "The Vanderbilt Cup," Louis Mann and Clara Lipmann in "Julie Bonbon," and Harry Woodruff in "Brown of Harvard." Hall Caine's new work, "The Prodigal Son," dragged heavily as lead; while in "Zira," the latest of several versions of Wilkie Collins's old story "The New Magdalen," Margaret Anglin rose to one of the finest emotional triumphs of her career. And, as we are mentioning dramatized novels, why did Mrs. Humphrey Ward's imposing "Marriage of William Ashe" fall by the wayside, and Lottie Blair Parker's melo-dramatization of "The Redemption of David Corson" belie its title, when Edward Peple's comparatively obscure novelette of "The Prince Chap" made so pretty and unique a little play as to charm New York audiences at two or three different theatres for many weeks?

Without prolonging the list of hopeless bygones, we can all think of a dozen more of deserving things whose hard fate seems puzzling in a season when "Forty-five Minutes from Broadway," "The Earl and the Girl," and "The Social Whirl" flourish like the traditional green bay-tree. There must be reasons for these seeming vagaries of the popular taste, but they are so subtle or complicated as to assume the outward semblance of fickle chance.

The strange case of G. Bernard Shaw here presents itself for consideration. Arnold Daly, the foster-father of the Shaw fad in New York, overdid the matter at last by putting on "John Bull's Other Island," which proved a bore, and "Mrs. Warren's Profession," which the police conceived to be a crime, and so suppressed it after a single performance. Meanwhile, Robert Loraine shrewdly profited by all the notoriety thus drummed up by exploiting three-fourths of "Man and Superman" (with the Hell scenes cut out) — a concoction containing just enough of independent outlaw wit, with the mephitic elements judiciously subdued, to satisfy the large numbers of playgoers who were still curious about Shaw. That morbid curiosity has been surfeited at last. It is not likely to revive, having been doubly betrayed — first, by the Shaw products themselves, which are heartless, unprincipled, ill-bred; and, second, by the false

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pretense in their exploitation as "moral lessons," when in reality the sole object was to make money by stirring up a vulgar sensation.

"Alice-Sit-by-the-Fire" was a delightful example of how irony and facetious comedy can be handled by a true master — *i.e.*, Barrie. Incidentally it gave Ethel Barrymore another opportunity, which she did not fail to improve, in the rôle of a middle-aged wife and mother who wistfully takes leave of her coquettish youth.

Mæterlinck's "Monna Vanna" — played for the first time in English, and with rare refinement and power, by that former star actress of the local Yiddish stage, Bertha Kalich — is a bold challenge to the accepted order of things in drama and ethics. It may startle convention, it must inevitably arouse controversy, even protest. Indeed, at last analysis the play is a deliberate and cold-blooded negation of present standards of manly honor and the modesty of womanly virtue. Yet the artistic sincerity and the sheer æsthetic and dramatic appeal of the whole work are such that it commands a certain respectful, even though reluctant, admiration. It is the most concrete and human of all Mæterlinck's writings, and could not possibly be ignored by any progressive modern theatre. The fact that "Monna Vanna" had its first hearing in America at Mr. Conried's German Theatre, two years ago, emphasizes the fact that the little playhouse in Irving Place, with its exclusively foreign clientele, is the only one in New York, and probably in the whole United States, that is consistent enough to the purpose of true art to present the newest works of Continental European writers, irrespective of commercial vogue or adventitious réclame.

Paul Orleneff and Alla Nasimoff, with a company of Russian players from the best theatres of Moscow and St. Petersburg, succeeded, under carefully organized social patronage, in interesting anew, first New York, then Chicago and Boston, in what may be generically termed the Ibsen idea. This idea actuates not only the grand old pessimist of Norway, so lately gone to his rest, but equally the whole revolutionary group of moderns, which includes Gorky in Russia, Strindberg in Sweden, Sudermann and Hauptmann in Germany, Hervieu and Brieux in France, Perez Galdos in Spain, and D'Annunzio in Italy. These are dramatists who take their vocation seriously, who ride straight at the real as they see it in their own country and time, rather going out of their way for unpleasant facts than shirking them, and who prefer appalling truths to factitious "happy endings."

Why must we have actors all the way from Russia to teach us these things? Because in Russia to-day is the seethe and ferment of the world. Dramatists there write from an impassioned heart, and they compel their interpreters to act in the same spirit. No self-consciousness of either

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playwright or player intervenes between the dynamic thought and the eager audience of the people. That was the lesson taught us by the Russian artists, at every performance — whether they enacted "The Master Builder" to Slavic and Yiddish throngs in a stuffy music-hall on the East Side, or "The Chosen People" before a fashionable crush in a sumptuous theatre on Broadway.

Mme. Sarah Bernhardt, in striking contrast, brought us conventional drama and classic tradition, raised to their highest perfection by temperamental genius, academically trained. The whole country rose to her, making her progress one continuous triumph. And justly so, for she represents a passing glory of the stage. With her retirement, a whole repertoire of plays, some of which she inspired, and all of which she has made her own, must fall into desuetude. To realize this, we have only to compare her "Sorcière," a typical Bernhardt rôle fitted to her by Sardou, with the travesty-like representation of the same previously offered by an English actress — and a good one, in her own line, at that. The supremacy of the great Frenchwoman, now well past her sixtieth year, in the old familiar round of parts, with a mediocre supporting company and a scenic outfit far from elaborate, affords an impressive commentary upon the scarcity of first-class histrionic talent and equipment, in these materially lavish times.

Legitimate native combinations we have, as well as individual stars, capable of highly commendable work, and abounding in promise for the yet to be fulfilled future. Mr. Sothern and Miss Marlowe, in the second year of their professional partnership, have added "The Taming of the Shrew" and "The Merchant of Venice" to their list of Shakespearean productions. They have packed the Academy of Music at popular prices, at the fag end of the season. It is gratifying to know that the measure of public appreciation they have enjoyed justifies them in promising for next year "As You Like It," "Cymbeline," and "King Lear," also that sanest and most effective of Gabriele D'Annunzio's poetic dramas, "Francesca da Rimini," in the English version by Arthur Symons. While critical opinion has not been quite unanimous in acclaiming Mr. Sothern's Hamlet, Romeo, and Shylock, nor invariably eulogistic to Miss Marlowe's Portia, Katherine, and Juliet, it is nevertheless a fact, for which the entire theatre-loving public is grateful, that these two have done invaluable service in helping to revive the glamour of Shakespeare, at a time when such influence is most needed, and will count for so much.

Our scholarly and archaic friend, Ben Greet, also favored us with another series of his unique "Elizabethan" performances of such plays as "Henry V," "Much Ado About Nothing," and "Julius Cæsar," with scenery cut out, and practically the full original text left in. These

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curious experiments really did accomplish a decided gain in continuity, simplicity, and integrity of presentation of the master-dramatist's ideas. Thanks to previous familiarity — due largely to the careful and costly scenic illustrations customarily furnished by the less erudite commercial managers commanding the resources of the modern stage — a considerable element of our public found not only edification, but a novel species of enjoyment, in Mr. Greet's studious sixteenth-century setting of these plays. Robert Bruce Mantell, a splendidly endowed actor who has been identified with high-class legitimate productions during at least a part of the twenty-five years of his successful career, played a month's engagement in repertoire, including a fine impersonation of Richelieu, and a most memorable one of King Lear.

Richard Mansfield's brilliant three weeks' engagement at the New Amsterdam Theatre showed him in about a dozen of his best parts, ranging all the way from Beau Brummel to Arthur Dimmesdale in "The Scarlet Letter," besides two or three Shakespearean revivals, and bringing forth his annual novelty in the shape of a new production of Schiller's classic German historical tragedy, "Don Carlos." At his best, and at his worst, Mansfield is always worth while. His very unevenness is full of surprises, and a certain arrogant intellectuality pervades even the most preposterous things he does. He is what a Nietzsche might call the superactor. Possessed of an invincible egotism that in itself is a kind of genius, and a diabolic energy that ruthlessly rides over persons and traditions, he has at middle age reached the head of his profession, and stands to-day as our leading American actor. The regrettable thing is that there should be so little heart in his art. Sentiment, with him, is but a weak affectation. Chivalry and heroism are shams, and romance he heartily despises. For poetry he appears to have a platonic respect, but chiefly as a cloak behind which, in his own character, he may laugh at the impressionable and simple-minded. Sardonic humor, mordant irony, and cyclonic bursts of baleful passion — without, however, the sombre obsession of true tragedy — are the qualities in which he is unquestionably strong. He plays "The Misanthrope" one season, and "Don Carlos" the next, both in versions arbitrarily mutilated for pseudo-literary effect; and the main impression derived from the performances is that Mansfield has ostentatiously honored both Molière and Schiller, while scrupulously avoiding the appearance of partiality to either.

A favorite bit of cant with Mr. Mansfield, when making personal speeches or writing in the magazines, is to the effect that: "The stage is for the young especially, and we may indulge them in fairy tales, and history and poetry, in tales of love and romance and achievement and heroism, and an occasional ghost story with a moral; but we may not

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distort their fancy or endanger their moral lives by an exhibition of a rare and exceptional phase of social debasement." This comes with excellent grace from the actor who was first to exploit "A Parisian Romance," "Arms and the Man," and "The Devil's Disciple" — plays of a character which, were they to prevail, would effectually banish love, romance, and heroism from the theatre, and make it a place which "the young" would cheerfully avoid, of their own free will!

But then, as Mr. Mansfield complains, it is impossible nowadays to find good new plays conforming to his ideals or worth the expense of his resources to put upon the stage. This may be the reason why, like Bernhardt, he announces his intention to retire. It would be a great pity to lose such an energetic personality, in his very prime, at the moment when from many fiery trials he is emerging with something of a tempered spirit and the artistic serenity born of self-control. It cannot be said of Richard Mansfield that he was ever afraid of trouble, or that, having committed errors, he shirked the responsibility of them, or their penalty. His is, indeed, a masterful temperament, which, if it could be harnessed, might make noble and valuable atonement in the directorship of the American national conservatory of acting, which we are promised in conjunction with the now assured New Theatre.

Before looking at the prospectus of the last-named momentous undertaking, let us complete our cursory survey of the more significant products and happenings of the dramatic season just closed.

Through an odd combination of accidental circumstances, the theatre named the Liberty was the scene of three successive experiments, differing widely from one another in character, yet alike in that each was the work of a tyro in play-writing, each aggressively American in subject and treatment throughout, and each proved more successful in provoking critical feuds and controversies than in satisfying the general public who pay.

First came "The Clansman," put together by Thomas Dixon with materials taken partly from his novel of that name, and partly from "The Leopard's Spots," another story of the same complexion, eked out with the misappropriation of the mesmeric vision of Mathias in "The Bells," as played by the late Sir Henry Irving. Mr. Dixon is a "professional Southerner," of a type no longer tolerated in the South. Dealing with the historical period of reconstruction and the Ku Klux Klan, he depends upon race prejudice and the survival, or revival, of sectional animosities, for such polemical vogue as his melodramatic out-pourings may obtain. Fortunately, his technical equipment is so inadequate, and his ideas of dramatic effect are so crude, that the sphere of activity of such a theatrical proposition as "The Clansman" must necessarily be circumscribed.

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Then followed "The Redskin," written by a young actor named Donald McLaren, who conceived the idea that the plot and situations of a modern emotional society drama, set back in the forests of Illinois about the middle of the eighteenth century, and enacted by a cast of Indian dramatis personæ exclusively, with some real Sioux fresh from the reservation thrown in as supers, speaking a rhythmic jargon compounded of Shakespeare and Sheridan Knowles, in scenes enlivened with torture at the burning stake, with knife duels, and war dances, would be hailed as a novelty in the line of native authorship. It was — but the newspaper critics could not resist the temptation to "guy" those blank-verse redskins. Whereupon the producing manager, Mr. Brady, rushed out upon the unoffending public in a nightly series of curtain lectures, and what had started as a poetic dream finished in a grotesque nightmare.

Benjamin Chapin's "Abraham Lincoln," which came next in that house of strange hazards, aroused sincere interest and created a dignified impression, to say the least. It actually succeeded, for the first time in history, in giving a convincing life-picture of the martyr President's very human personality, projected against the stormy background of Civil War time in the White House at Washington. The quaint, shrewd, homely wit and humor of Lincoln's character, warmed by the kindliness of a great heart, and accentuating by vivid contrast the streak of tragic melancholy and gloom in his nature, might well give an actor pause, in any attempt at impersonation. Yet it was in boldly playing up this comic side that Mr. Chapin struck his truest note. Starting with a natural physical resemblance that in itself is peculiar and striking, he has devoted many years to the reverent study of his chosen hero, in his every aspect, until finally he has built up what we instinctively feel to be a real portrait of Abraham Lincoln in his habit as he lived. So colossal a figure necessarily dwarfs all others in the rudimentary sketch of a play which the actor-author has built for his vehicle — although Secretary Stanton and General Hooker stand out distinctly, and the crisis of July 4, 1863, the day of Vicksburg and Gettysburg, is well chosen for the precipitation of such action as there is. If Mr. Chapin has not quite achieved the great American historical drama for which wise men are watching, he has at least blocked it out, in offering to our stage a not unsatisfactory presentment of —

> "That simple, plain, yet masterful great man,
> Girt with rude grandeur, quelling doubt and fear;
> A more than king, yet in whose veins there ran
> The red blood of the people, warm, sincere,
> Blending of Puritan and Cavalier.

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A will whose force stern warriors came to ask,
A heart that melted at a mother's tear—
These brought he to his superhuman task:
Whilst o'er a tragic soul he wore a comic mask."

An ingenious one-act dramatic sketch, which attracted wide attention and has found several imitators, was "A Case of Arson," written by a Dutch author named Hyermans, and played by Henri de Vries with extraordinary skill and effect. The situation presented is that of a police-court examination in a case of incendiarism, and half-a-dozen witnesses in turn are all impersonated by one and the same actor. In this Protean tour de force, Mr. de Vries not only showed surprising celerity in the outward transformations of make-up, but he also succeeded, by infinite subtleties of variation in voice, gesture, mien, and facial expression, in a psychological differentiation of the characters assumed which amounted to genuine acting, of a high and original order. E. S. Willard, a sterling artist who has a deservedly large following, signalized his annual visit by the presentation of a poignant act derived from Kipling's tale of "The Man That Was," giving a finished and pathetic picture of the British soldier captured by the Russians in the Crimea, and who after long years escapes and returns, a mental and physical wreck, to rejoin his regiment in India. "Dolce," an Italian episode by John Luther Long, tried by Mrs. Fiske at a few matinées, and "Pantaloon," J. M. Barrie's whimsical echo of the old Drury Lane pantomime days, in which Lionel Barrymore demonstrated again his possession of a sufficient share of the family talent, were about the only other single-act plays of the season which may be said to have left a memory.

The work of new American dramatists, or of old ones quarrying in fresh native fields, makes a scantier showing than it ought, in the year's chronicle. Augustus Thomas barely escaped failure in his endeavor to provide a successor to "The Earl of Pawtucket," though the amusing adventures of Lawrance D'Orsay in Paris make "The Embassy Ball," as a whole, something to be thankful for. Channing Pollock managed to put the atmosphere of Governmental department routine work and Washington boarding-house life into the best thing he has yet done, "The Little Grey Lady." David Gray's "Gallops" showed what spicy farce-comedy material there is in Long Island's smart hunting set, though his best effects were marred by the avoirdupois unsuitability of Charles Richman to the leading rôle, as a two-hundred-pound gentleman jockey. Henry E. Dixey did wonders with "The Man on the Box," by Harold McGrath; and Leo Ditrichstein's Sunny Jim farcicality of "Before and After" developed innocent jocularity in paying quantities.

A much more serious matter was "The Strength of the Weak," an

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appropriately named emotional drama of somewhat morbid intensity in spots, constructed by Alice M. Smith and Charlotte Thompson, and ably interpreted by a cast of players including Florence Roberts, Tyrone Power, and Eugene Ormonde. It is the story of a young lady who writes a best-selling novel and wins for a lover her girlhood's ideal, only to discover that he is the son of the elderly millionaire guardian who embittered her life at the outset, whereupon she commits suicide *à la* Hedda Gabler. "The Greater Love," the work of another woman playwright, Mrs. Ivy Ashton Root, had as its lachrymose hero no less a personage than the composer Mozart. It met the inevitable fate of all efforts to found a drama of action and words upon a life of immaterial sentiment and thought. "Money Talks," a comedy in which that well-esteemed actor, W. H. Thompson, is declared to have one of the best parts of his career, has not, at the present writing, reached New York. It represents the début, as a dramatic author, of Cleveland Moffett.

Some of the brightest wits among our younger writers, as well as the talents of our light comedians and comediennes, find congenial exercise in the comic opera, burlesque, and music-farce for which the public demand appears to be wellnigh insatiable. Of the higher standard to which this line of entertainment has been raised, of late, "Véronique" may be taken as an example. This, in its original French form, with the exquisite musical score by Messager, is almost the perfection of modern operetta. Its success here was but moderate, on account of the soggy, plum-pudding-like treatment of book and lyrics by the English adapters. But "Véronique," at its best, was fairly matched by a home product, "Mlle. Modiste." This piece, with its gay and tuneful score by Victor Herbert, kept the vivacious Fritzi Scheff before the metropolitan footlights the whole season through. It was written by Henry Blossom, also author of "The Yankee Consul" and "Checkers," but whose latest attempt at straight comedy, "A Fair Exchange," fell short of the mark.

The music hall, or, more properly, the burlesque theatre, of Joseph Weber is the only recognized home of pure travesty in New York. Mr. Weber has never undertaken a general "review" of the theatrical season as a whole, as the Parisian vaudeville managers do in May and June; but he selects one or two things of established popularity, yet having sufficiently obvious weak points to offer a target for ridicule — the latter condition is easily fulfilled, as our "big hits" go, these days — and then puts on an elaborate parody, with all the resources of cast, costume, music, and scenic embellishment at his command. The result is a gorgeous entertainment intrinsically, spiced with keen, genuine criticism and irresponsible fun. Marie Dressler and Mr. Weber himself, not to speak of the secondary wits and beauties of an "all-star" company,

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turned loose in an extravaganza like "The Squaw Man's Girl of the Golden West," present a comic spectacle not soon to be forgotten.

Such, then, in broad outline, is the present aspect of the American stage, as focussed in this metropolis, at the moment when a New Theatre organization inaugurates its plans as a response, in some sort, to the urgent demand, from all quarters, for a permanent and authoritative establishment, on an artistic and strictly non-commercial basis, which shall be representative of the national spirit in the fostering, improvement, and exposition of the dramatic arts. Here, in New York, we have more than fifty of the most sumptuous playhouses in the world, supported by an amusement-loving population of five millions, who spend more money for stage entertainment than any other community — yet not a single legitimate stock company, not one repertoire theatre, and no independent school of acting to conserve and hand down the already fading traditions of Booth, Barrett, Wallack, Warren, Jefferson, Mrs. Gilbert, and Mrs. John Drew. Fully twenty-five per cent of our resources, both in funds and in talent, are wasted on trashy music-farces bearing little or no proper relation to either dramatic or musical art. There is no influential manager or management in America to whom an untried native dramatist with original ideas can go with any hope of receiving encouragement. Even our few recognized dramatists, who are willing to compromise with necessary conditions, cannot be sure of a hearing until all the available misfits and contract orders from Europe have been tried out upon a long-suffering public. Is it any wonder that the remedy for this condition of things has been diligently sought?

Four years ago, a committee of the American Dramatists' Club, in conjunction with "The Theatre Magazine," started a tentative movement which within the twelvemonth resulted in the enrolment of some two thousand men and women, many of them prominent in the theatrical and literary professions, as a "National Art Theatre Society." Among this number was Heinrich Conried, who was regarded by a majority of the association as best choice for director of such an institution as they hoped to be instrumental in founding. When, shortly afterward, Mr. Conried accepted the management of the Metropolitan Opera, it was with the specific avowal that his ultimate and greater purpose was the promotion of the National Theatre project. He proved as good as his word; and, two years later — that is to say, in the latter part of 1905 — the announcement that thirty of the Metropolitan's wealthy stockholders had subscribed $100,000 each for the realization of Mr. Conried's cherished scheme caused widespread and enthusiastic felicitation.

The good news was in the main true, though inaccurate as to certain important details. Moreover, the ideas which then for the first time

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assumed tangible form have undergone some change in the subsequent process of evolution, until they have now reached the following stage: Under the leadership of Charles T. Barney, Mr. Conried's plans have been actively taken up by a number of New York gentlemen of means and congenial tastes, some of whom happen to be also stockholders in the Metropolitan Opera Company, and the enterprise is formally launched under the title of the "New Theatre." Its board of founders, with Mr. Barney as president, contains the names of Messrs. John Jacob Astor, Edmund L. Baylies, August Belmont, Robert B. Van Cortlandt, Paul D. Cravath, William B. Osgood Field, George J. Gould, Eliot Gregory, James H. Hyde, Otto H. Kahn, W. De Lancey Kountze, J. Pierpont Morgan, James Henry Smith, James Stillman, Hamilton McK. Twombly, William K. Vanderbilt, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Henry Walters, Henry Rogers Winthrop, and Harry Payne Whitney.

An admirable site, fronting on Central Park West, has been purchased, and competitive designs for a building of monumental proportions, submitted by nine leading firms of architects, are under consideration by a jury consisting of President Barney, Otto H. Kahn, H. R. Winthrop, Heinrich Conried, Stanford White, Donn Barber, and Edgar V. Seeler. The theatre is to have a stage 100 feet wide and eighty-five feet deep, forty commodious dressing-rooms, four chorus rooms accommodating thirty persons each, and two rooms for supers, accommodating fifty each; a ballet practice room of not less than 1,600 square feet; three rehearsal rooms, the largest to have an area of 2,000 square feet; a central green-room, or artists' reception salon; a general wardrobe salon, having 1,600 square feet of floor space; two rooms for musical directors, and three rooms for stage managers; carpenter shops, paint rooms, scenic ateliers, and quarters for janitors and charwomen. A separate wing, or possibly a building wholly detached, will house a school of drama and opera, having its own stage, concert hall, and a dozen or more class-rooms. Finally, provision is made for a library annex, in the nature structurally of a fire-proof vault, in which will be kept copies of all plays and scores forming the repertoire, together with standard works on the literature of the drama, music, costumes, etc., which will be at once convenient to the stage and the school, and accessible from the street for the use, on occasions, of the general public.

Architecturally, the interior of the New Theatre will embody features of representative modern European playhouses of the first class. Although the greatest distance between the curtain and the line of the front of the boxes is not to exceed sixty-five feet, the seating capacity of the auditorium will be 2,000, exclusive of the boxes, which may number fifty. Grand staircases, and a foyer placed approximately on the level of the

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upper tier of boxes, will help to give scope for an architectural ensemble of decorative designs, mural painting, and sculpture befitting an institution intended, eventually, to be what the Théâtre Français and the Opéra of Paris are to France — a national monument.

Will the administrative programme and the informing spirit of the New Theatre emulate, in an equal degree with its material construction, those Old World temples of art which have been chosen as models? The only possible answer at present to this pertinent query is to be found in a glance over the plans as broadly indicated in a public statement made in March last by President Barney of the association of founders.

The fundamental guiding principle, Mr. Barney declares, is to establish in New York a theatre which shall be run for the sake of art, and not in any way for the sake of profit — a theatre not planned in anybody's interest or anybody's behalf, except on behalf of the community and in the interest of the higher drama. Its mission will be to foster and stimulate art, and to exercise those elevating and refining influences which make the stage, if properly conducted, an educational influence second to none in effectiveness. The specific programme, as now outlined, contemplates an alternation of classical repertoire with modern plays of genuine merit — not to be confined, presumably, to the works of English-writing authors alone — to be mounted and performed by a stock company, not necessarily all-American, in a manner worthy of the best traditions of the stage. Such a theatre, intended to combine in some degree the functions, say, of the Théâtre Français, Opéra Comique, and Conservatoire of Paris, would be a proper place for the performance of light operas of real quality and distinction, especially those put forth by our younger native composers and librettists. Any net profits — and the scheme of limited subscriptions, with one or two weekly *soirées des abonnés*, as in all the French Government theatres, augurs well for the financial soundness of the proposition — will be turned back into the treasury of the theatre for the creation of an endowment fund, scholarships in the school of dramatic art, an actors' pension fund, and similar altruistic uses.

No specific plan of management has been announced, as yet, nor has the New Theatre's chief director been appointed, so far as anyone knows. The founders are free to make their choice; and they intend to choose, they say, whomsoever they consider the best available man. Whether or not this man be Mr. Conried, it appears certain that the enterprise and experience of the impresario-manager, who for twenty-five years has so ably maintained the artistic prestige of the Deutsches Theater in New York City, will count for much under the new régime. Again, it is not unlikely that the immediate direction of the theatre may be intrusted to two executive heads — a dramatic manager, who will undertake the

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management of the stock company, and a musical director, to have charge of the production of opera. Such directing heads might have the advice and assistance not only of committees responsible to the founders, but also of visiting "stars," or those specially engaged for certain productions.

It will take years, of course, to build up a repertoire sufficient to fulfil the requirements of a theatre where long "runs" are to be prohibited, and the bill changed two or three times a week. Mr. Conried has estimated that, with reasonable activity in production, five or six years would suffice for the accumulation of a series representing, in a way, the world's classics, as well as the best work of modern authors. American dramatists would then have an incentive to original effort which hitherto has been denied them. The systematic and thorough presentation of standard plays of all nations, but translated into good English, which should be properly spoken by intelligent players costumed with some degree of correctness and taste, would give the public new ideals, raise the art of acting to something nearer its true dignity, and ultimately lead to the creation of that in which our proud Republic is desperately lacking — an American dramatic literature.

HENRY TYRRELL.

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THOMAS HARDY'S "DYNASTS."[1]

It is now nearly fifteen years since the tragic close of "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," and the pure beauty of the setting in nature given to the narrative, brought Mr. Thomas Hardy to the zenith of his popularity — if such a phrase may be allowed in connection with a writer whose views of life are notoriously free from conventionality. The number of his enthusiastic admirers was greatly increased — perhaps in exact proportion with the number of those readers who censured "Tess" on the score of its alleged unwholesomeness; articles, and even books, descriptive of his life and works, began to appear with considerable frequency; and some people, like myself, soon took advantage of a new uniform edition of his novels to read again, or for the first time, all the predecessors of the story that was being generally accepted as its author's masterpiece.

With great delight such readers traced the progress of Mr. Hardy's genius from the powerful but still crude and involved "Desperate Remedies" (1871), through the exquisitely charming idyll "Under the Greenwood Tree" (1872), — which proved that idealism and realism are not of necessity inimical, since here the Wessex peasant took his place in English literature not so very far away from Shakespeare's clowns — on through the idiosyncratic and therefore the less charming but not the less striking love-story "A Pair of Blue Eyes" (1872–73), through "Far from the Madding Crowd" (1874) — in which Mr. Hardy first, perhaps, made his calling and election clear, and displayed a balance of powers scarcely afterward maintained — through the interesting *tour de force* entitled "The Hand of Ethelberta" (1876), up to the powerful and individual creation which many competent judges have pronounced to be his greatest performance, "The Return of the Native" (1878) — when this sentence and this paragraph may end, so that we may recall the part played by sombre nature in Mr. Hardy's works — for this is the novel that made Egdon Heath a possession of English literature.

That sunshine should follow gloom, and charm succeed compelling power, seems fitting enough. We are therefore not surprised or disappointed when we pass to that genial, semi-historical romance, "The

[1] *The Dynasts. A Drama of the Napoleonic Wars. In Three Parts, Nineteen Acts, and One Hundred and Thirty Scenes.* By Thomas Hardy. Part First, 1904, 12mo, pp. xxii, 228, xv. Part Second, 1906, 12mo, pp. xiii, 302. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited; New York: The Macmillan Co.

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Trumpet Major" (1879), which has its relations with the dramatic poem that forms the subject of this paper. Then came two Hardyesque performances, idiosyncratic, not to say *outré*, or, in plain and less emphatic English, out of the common, and, as is usual in such cases, somewhat out of the way — "A Laodicean" (1880–81) and "Two on a Tower" (1882). These were followed by a story which for sheer strength ranks very high in Mr. Hardy's works, "The Mayor of Casterbridge" (1884–85), and this in turn by the not much less impressive novel "The Woodlanders" (1886–87). After this Mr. Hardy gathered his good though scarcely masterly short stories into "Wessex Tales" (1888), and added to them another collection interesting both to the general reader and to the student of literary evolution, "A Group of Noble Dames" (1891).

The next year, with "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," saw Mr. Hardy take his place as one of the two greatest British novelists of the later Victorian period. None of his previous books, as we have seen, had produced so deep an impression upon the larger public — none had come so near answering all the requisitions that contemporaries of an author are inclined to make upon a book of his before they will even tentatively declare it to be a masterpiece. I thought "Tess," when I first read it, to be Mr. Hardy's best novel; and, despite my respect for "The Return of the Native" and for the critics who expatiate upon its greatness, I still hold to this opinion, relying not a little, like a true Philistine, on the fact that the public shares it or, at least, at one time seemed to share it.

That public opinion, whatever its value, is justified in vaunting itself, or that those who appeal to it are warranted in resting satisfied with the support it gives, will be maintained by few students of any form of human activity. But public opinion is stability itself when it is put in comparison with prediction, whether public or individual. If in the year "Tess" was published any of Mr. Hardy's numerous readers had been asked to cast the novelist's literary horoscope for the next fourteen or fifteen years, the chances are that, while some might have predicted that he would never again write a story which would make a wide and deep impression, scarcely a reader, even of the few that might have known that Mr. Hardy had dabbled in verse in his youth, would have ventured to predict that he would not only cease for the years to write fiction, but would actually make a deliberate attempt on a rather grandiose scale to win for himself the fame of a great poet. Yet such a prophet would have been absolutely correct in his prediction.

The group of stories entitled "Life's Little Ironies" (1894), the much berated "Jude the Obscure" (1895), the far from attractive and I suspect not widely read novelette, "The Well Beloved" (1897), while probably not amenable to a great part of the censure which the second of the

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three books received, certainly added nothing to Mr. Hardy's reputation as a writer of fiction. It began to look as if the Hardyesque had swallowed Hardy. Then the world was rather disconcerted by the appearance of a volume entitled "Wessex Poems" (1898), in which the critics said it might manage to discover some of the old intelligence and power, some of the old grim outlook upon life and its miseries, but very little poetry. The world did not know that Mr. Hardy had returned to his first love, and, if it had known the fact, it would not have greatly cared. In its rough and ready way, it had classed him as a novelist and, in our expressive phrase, it wanted him "to stay put." This was a quite natural desire on the part of a peace-loving world, in these days, when the number of writers to be reckoned with is so formidable that it is only a commonplace to point out how the pursuit of culture has become one of the most fatiguing forms of "the strenuous life."

Being anything but strenuous myself, I have no intention of doing battle with the world in behalf of "Wessex Poems," or of its companion volume, "Poems of the Past and the Present" (1901). I will not even join issue with those critics who treated the books, on the whole, with less courtesy than they deserved — not so much as formal poetry, but as the sincere expression of a mind and heart exceptionally strong and deep, as well as of a writer whose past services to our literature were entitled to great respect. All I wish to do in the rest of this paper is to consider in a somewhat cursory fashion Mr. Hardy's two latest volumes — instalments of a work that has deepened the bewilderment of the reading world, and, apparently, of most of the professional critics, — the first and second parts of his vast dramatic poem upon the Napoleonic era, entitled "The Dynasts."

Our author was never anything less than bold. We are therefore not surprised to find him announcing on his title page that his drama, when completed, will consist of three parts, nineteen acts, and one hundred and thirty scenes.[1] This is not an entirely accurate statement of the facts in the case, as Mr. Hardy presents them; for the drama is completed already in manuscript, and will be published entire, if the author is sufficiently encouraged by the reception of his work. So, at least, a modest note at the end of the First Part may be interpreted. A clear, fairly long preface endeavors to explain some of the anomalous features of the composition that are likely to shock the conventional critic. We learn that Mr. Hardy's choice of the "Clash of Peoples" as a subject was "mainly due to three accidents of locality." He was familiar with the coast where

[1] At the end of Part First Mr. Hardy gave an outline of the proposed division of acts and scenes for the remaining parts, subject to revision. In the Second Part he evidently changed his mind in several particulars.

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George III had his favorite summer residence during the Napoleonic wars. This was the region most alarmed by the Emperor's plans to invade England, and traditions of that stirring time still linger in the minds of its inhabitants. And here, finally, lay the native village of Nelson's flag-captain at Trafalgar — Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy.

The "first published result of these three accidents," to use Mr. Hardy's own restrained language, was "The Trumpet Major." When that was finished, he found himself tantalized by having merely touched the fringe of a vast subject which he had not time thoroughly to investigate. He was also piqued by that minimizing of England's part in the great drama which he found to characterize the imaginative works devoted by continental writers to Napoleon's career. So he bore the theme in mind, and at last, some eight years ago, he outlined the "play" which is now perplexing critics. He claims for his work "a tolerable fidelity to the facts of its date" — a claim which, as far as my knowledge extends, is amply justified. If anything, he is too faithful to the facts; for, as he confesses, he has paraphrased such spoken or written utterances as he could determine to be authentic — with the result that he sometimes calls to mind the least poetically happy portions of Shakespeare's chronicle plays, not a form of drama particularly relished to-day. He intends, he tells us, to give a list of his authorities in the Third Part. It ought to be valuable; but I at least should prefer an essay dealing both with Mr. Hardy's adventures among books and documents, and with the travels which I suspect account for some of the remarkable descriptions of localities with which the stage-directions — Europe is its real stage — of this colossal drama abound.[1]

"It was thought proper," the author next proceeds to tell us, "to introduce as supernatural spectators of the terrestrial drama, certain

[1] It almost seems as if, when conceiving his scenic panoramas, Mr. Hardy might have had in mind the enthusiastic passage in DeFoe's "Compleat Gentleman," where that learned student of geography describes the pleasures that lie open to a reader with tastes similar to his own:—

"How agreeable a diversion is it to him to read the public prints with his colleccion of maps and charts before him, where he can see the British Squadron blocking up the Spanish Plate Fleet at Porto Belo, and immediately turn his eye and see another British Squadron, awing the Russian Navy at Revell and Narve, and they, tho' double in number, not daring to put to sea to succour the Spaniards. The next moment he has turn'd over a leaf, and the like chart presents Gibraltar to his view, and the Spaniards battering themselves to pieces instead of the town, and wasting their army in a fruitless, unskillfull seige, without so much as comeing near enough to draw a sword in the whole war. There also he sees another English Squadron keeping the seas open and convoying troops and relief dayly to the place and assisting that one small town in overmatching all the forces of Spain, whether by land or by sea."

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impersonated abstractions, or Intelligences, called Spirits." His defence of these "contrivances of the fancy" is interesting, and amounts to a confession that mythology and "the celestial machinery" of "Paradise Lost" being hopelessly antiquated, and some comment both human and extra-human upon the passing show seeming desirable, there was need of a "scheme of contrasted choruses" which should give a "modern expression of a modern outlook." How modern the outlook and the expression are may be judged from the fact that "the First or Fundamental Entity" is not referred to by the Spirits as God or He, but as It.

At this point we may cease to condense Mr. Hardy's preface, in order to consider what he himself evidently regards as a crucial feature of his drama, if drama it may be called. Was there any real need for the creation of these spiritual witnesses and commentators? And, granted that there was, has Mr. Hardy succeeded in making them acceptable? I am inclined to answer the first question in the negative, although it is interesting to have sympathetic and ironical and oracular comments upon so tremendous a cataclysm, when one knows that they are made by Thomas Hardy, whether or not they represent his personal opinions. But such readers as "The Dynasts" is likely to secure are fairly competent to make their own comments upon the scenes unfolded before them; and Mr. Hardy, in making his, has felt obliged on many occasions to present them in lyrical verse, a form of expression in which, *me judice*, he is far from an adept. With the substance, the thought of his choruses, I have no quarrel, though doubtless it would be easy to quarrel with it from certain points of view; but with the form there seems to be room for dissatisfaction. Lyrical charm is almost completely absent, and lyrical power is almost frustrated, save exceptionally, by a strained diction and a rhythmical roughness that are often distracting and not infrequently distressing. I shall refer to the matter later, and will only record here my belief that, if Mr. Hardy had omitted his choruses, he would have greatly diminished the number of his hostile or unsympathetic readers and critics.

After explaining his introduction of spirits, Mr. Hardy informs us that no attempt has been made to secure for such a "chronicle piece" the "completely organic structure of action" and the "development of character and motive" that are "demanded in a drama strictly self-contained." The reader, — that is, the spectator in thought, since "The Dynasts" is clearly "a play intended simply for mental performance, and not for the stage," — must become a "performer whenever called upon," must fill in the gaps, or such "a historical presentment on an intermittent plan, in which the *dramatis personæ* number some hundreds, becomes in his individual case unsuitable."

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As for the objection of the critics that "to declare a drama as being not for the stage is to make an announcement whose subject and predicate cancel each other," Mr. Hardy argues that the "question seems to be an unimportant matter of terminology." That it is a matter of terminology may be freely confessed; that it is unimportant will not be readily admitted by any critic who has been perplexed by the vagueness of the terms employed by his fellow-critics. It might have been wiser to have entitled this colossal creation a dramatic poem, or, since many scenes are in prose, a dramatic composition. It might also have been more prudent for Mr. Hardy to have refrained from speculating whether "mental performance alone may not eventually be the fate of all drama other than that of contemporary or frivolous life." With skilful wielders of blank verse struggling heroically to write tragedies, with dramatic schools and chairs of dramatic literature being established among us, it would seem polite to cast no doubt whatsoever upon the probability that the twentieth century will witness the creation of a poetic drama in English surpassing that of the glorious days of Elizabeth and James. But Mr. Hardy has never been noted for his polite toleranec of what he regards as illusions, and I, for one, have found the closing pages of his preface interesting and suggestive.

We are now in the presence of the monstrous performance itself, and we first encounter a table of contents long enough for a treatise, and a list of characters entering the First Part in which the individuals who bear historic names number no less than eighty, if I can trust my count, though some of them, it should be noted, do no speaking. As for the spirits and the unnamed soldiers, sailors, courtiers, and citizens, they would certainly require the Napoleonic Empire for a stage. It is less of an exaggeration to state that the men decidedly outnumber the women, though I may premise here that the scenes in which the Empress Josephine and Queen Louisa of Prussia are brought forward in the Second Part, where women come more to the front, are among the best that Mr. Hardy has achieved.

The Fore Scene is given over to the Spirits; and on the third page one line —

> The free trajection of our entities —

shows plainly enough why some critics are disconcerted at Mr. Hardy's appearance as a poet. The prosaic quality of the word *moves* in the following passage, together with the misplaced rhyme it makes, deepens our compassion for the perplexed critics:—

> Our thought being now reflexed
> To forces operant on this English isle,

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> Behooves it us to enter scene by scene,
> And watch the spectacle of Europe's moves
> In her embroil —

Yet shortly afterward we have four lines that at least serve to show why Mr. Hardy believes in his own capacity to write poetry:—

> We'll close up Time, as a bird its van,
> We'll traverse Space, as Spirits can,
> Link pulses severed by leagues and years,
> Bring cradles into touch with biers.

One finishes the Fore Scene with the feeling that one has been reading a mixture of prose and poetry, chaotic but impressive through a pervading force of imagination and reflection. This feeling persists for all the scenes in which the spirit choruses play a part. Even to give a catalogue of the acts and scenes that follow would demand considerable space; to comment upon them, however briefly, would be out of the question. It must suffice to say that the play begins on a "Ridge in Wessex," in March, 1805, with a conversation between passengers in a stage coach, which in its realism reminds us of the Hardy we once thought we knew. Then the scene shifts to the office of the Minister of Marine in Paris, and we have an unfamiliar Hardy essaying blank-verse. A by no means feeble scene in the old House of Commons follows, Sheridan and Fox baiting Pitt, and that statesman replying — all in verse that is fairly adequate, and in a realistic tone that makes me at least feel that Mr. Hardy has succeeded better in representing a deliberative assembly than Robert Browning did in "Strafford."

Skipping to the third scene of the second act, we come upon the camp and harbor of Boulogne, and upon one of the very best features of "The Dynasts," to wit, the fine description of the locality and of a dumb-show that takes place before the characters begin to speak. Some of these descriptions are most strikingly imaginative, and are worthy of Hardy, the novelist, at his best. In this third scene, Napoleon, whom Mr. Hardy consistently presents as Napoleon, makes his first appearance. It is doing no injustice either to him or to our author to say that we prefer the next scene but one which shows us Egdon Heath once more, with two old men waiting to light the signal fires and "Private Cantle of the Locals and his wife Keziar down at Bloom's-End" — all of whom might have stepped out of "The Return of the Native."

Skipping still — I do it here for the reader's sake, but felt no inclination whatever to do it for my own sake when I was reading the book — we arrive at the first scene of the fourth act, which gives us a very satisfactory dialogue between Pitt and Geoge III, an unfortunate monarch who is here portrayed with sympathy and intelligence. Then the scene shifts

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to Ulm, and we have an opportunity of judging how Mr. Hardy will handle what must be the main material of the writer that deals with Napoleon — the movements of leaders and troops. It seems to me that in his battle scenes he has grappled manfully with his difficulties and, on the whole, attained a success worthy of much praise. Certainly the fifth act, which is mainly devoted to Trafalgar, is a vivid presentation of that tremendous event; and the dying scene of Nelson contains real poetry, which, however, is exchanged in the closing chorus for a jumble of words, not precisely for doggerel. The sixth act gives us Austerlitz and the death of Pitt, and is a natural breaking-point for the First Part.

I, myself, do not see how any reader interested in a great historic period and endowed with a fair appreciation of imaginative literature can put down the opening volume of "The Dynasts" without feeling that it is a remarkably able book, whether or not it is a successful drama or a great poem. To judge it technically as drama, or as poetry, and, finding it wanting, to forbear to ask whether a composition so pregnant with thought and imagination is not a piece of literature that transcends the conventional categories and canons and as yet defies analysis, seems to me a rather blind and hazardous procedure. The way in which American critics have been forced to accept as poetry what thirty and forty years ago most cultivated readers denominated the "barbaric yawps" of Walt Whitman ought to induce in the critics of "The Dynasts" a reserve and caution which thus far many of them have not displayed. And if a writer who essays blank verse cannot be a poet unless he uses that measure as Tennyson did, what becomes of Robert Browning and not a few of our early dramatists?

The Second Part, though it also is divided into six acts, is longer than the First Part, and, *mirabile dictu*, contains a good many more characters. If I am not mistaken, it improves upon its predecessor both in dramatic power and in poetic quality. A very fair proportion of its forty-three scenes seem to rise above the adequate to the good; and, even if we deny to each and every scene the epithet great, we are not thereby stopped from asking ourselves whether we are justified in denying that epithet to the volume as a whole. At the very least it is an impressive composition, which only a great writer could have conceived and executed.

It begins in Fox's lodgings, Arlington Street, carries us to Jena, Berlin, Tilsit — where Napoleon, Alexander of Russia, and Queen Louisa play the leading parts, and most interestingly — then to Spain, where the licentious Queen and Don Manuel Godoy, Prince of Peace, give us all the evidence we need of the moral rottenness of the Bourbons, and of the necessity of that *rôle* of scourge which Napoleon was permitted by Providence to play.

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The part he played in the divorce of Josephine it would be somewhat impious to saddle on Providence, and it would be unduly flattering Mr. Hardy to affirm that he makes the Emperor and Empress comport themselves as a truly great dramatist might have done. Still, he cannot fairly be said to have fallen short of effectiveness either in the scenes devoted to this domestic tragedy, or in those that give us the wooing and espousing of Marie Louise. As for the scenes dealing with Wagram, Talavera, Walcheren, and Torrès Vídeas, they perhaps surpass the battle scenes in Part First; and the pathetic scene with the mad George III in the room in Windsor Castle makes us feel that Hardy the playwright has not lost the skill Hardy the novelist had in sounding the depths of the human heart. And we know that he is still the same master of irony, when we close this second volume with the entertainment at Carlton House, where the Prince Regent, later to be his unmajestic Majesty George IV, "sits like a lay figure, in a state chair of crimson and gold, with six servants at his back." Even the final chorus does not deter us from hoping that it will not be long before we have the third instalment of this amorphous but none the less memorable literary experiment.

> Hark at the wind-combed Ural pines;
> See how each, pendulum-wise, inclines;
> Mark the cloud's labyrinthine lines;
>
> Behold the tumbling Biscay Bay;
> The midland main in silent sway;
> As urged to move them, so move they.
>
> No less through regal puppet-shows
> The rapt Determinator throes,
> That neither good nor evil knows!

This is not great lyrical poetry; there is probably little, if any, great dramatic poetry throughout the multitude of scenes; but there is some good, and a great deal of passable, verse; there is some excellent prose; and there is a continuous manifestation of imagination and intelligence for which I am glad to acknowledge myself deeply grateful. It is not my duty to insist that Mr. Hardy should have given us in the past ten years another novel worthy to stand beside "Tess" and "The Return of the Native." He has chosen to give us "The Dynasts"; and it is my privilege to protest against any criticism of that extraordinary work that is not respectful, and, if condemnatory, at least somewhat tentative.

W. P. TRENT.

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TYPES OF RECENT BIOGRAPHY.

It is an interesting fact in the history of literary *genres* that two of the great examples of biographical writing occur almost side by side. Less than a decade separates the completion of Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" — happily honored in the new edition of the late Dr. Birkbeck Hill — from the publication of his own Life by Boswell. Yet with the latter book a new type of biography came into being. Johnson, in the main, had, like most of his predecessors, followed a simple narrative and expository method, prefixing a plain story of the poet's life to a systematic account of his character and a critical estimate of his works. He gathered his facts and impressions together, and spoke for the author and for himself. Boswell, on the other hand, making use of a more dramatic method, succeeded in his attempt to let the author reveal himself, and, instead of an exposition of character, painted a picture of personality, to which his own comments were subordinate. What we see as a type of mind and character in Johnson's work, we see as a living man in Boswell.

The works of these two masters may be taken as the chief types of, at least, English biographical writing. What Johnson did may, in the main, stand for much of the great biography of the world. To this type belong Plutarch and Walton. And biography, too, when used for the purposes of satire, frequently followed such a method. In Boswell, on the other hand, is to be found the great original and prototype, regarded as a literary form, of much modern biography. Lockhart's "Scott," Trevelyan's "Macaulay," Mr. Mackail's "William Morris," Professor Norton's "Lowell," and a host of "lives and letters," belong to this class. Only, modern biographers, excellent as they are, seem to fall short of Boswell in two important respects: they have no such wealth of material as the devotion of Boswell inspired him to collect, and no such skill as his. For, with moderns, the less real and intimate medium of letters usually takes the place of the first-hand reports of talk; and, lacking such varied and copious material, the modern biographer has not the means, if he has the art, of drawing so salient a figure as illumines Boswell's pages. Consequently, Boswell remains the great exemplar of the intimate personal biography; and many lives will, as works of art, aside from interest in the subject, continue to be estimated by their approach to the type laid down by him, just as the best of Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" —

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Cowley, Swift, or Pope, for example — may always furnish a convenient type and touchstone for biography of the more direct, expository, critical sort.

Of very recent biographies, the one perhaps most approximating the Boswellian type is Mr. Francis Wilson's "Joseph Jefferson."[1] Superficially, in point of age, Mr. Wilson bears about the same relation to the great American comedian that Boswell bore to the famous Doctor, and, like Boswell, he has evidently been at some pains to take down Jefferson's talk as it came from him. After relating a capital anecdote about a difference of opinion between Jefferson and Irving, Mr. Wilson continues:

> This time he was arrayed in a full set of blue jeans, and was painting away and answering my questions. I was sitting at a table opposite, writing down his responses. He went on with his brush or feathers or fingers, until I had set down the words and had launched forth with more questions. He must have known that I was taking notes, for he said I must not print the Irving discussion — at least not *now*. Sometimes I read aloud what he said, and he corrected me if I had mistaken him. Like Boswell, "I know not how such whimsical ideas came into my head," but I asked him the most disconnected things, which often extracted a laugh from him, and always a reply. If a question startled him, he would even put down his brushes and palette, and, with fingers stiff with many-colored paints, would walk up and down the room, turning now and then to me to emphasize some remark.
>
> Boswell-like, I asked him a variety of unrelated questions about his daughters, his sons, whether he meant to revive "The Rivals," why he painted with his fingers, why his hair kept so dark, how long he had been playing "Rip Van Winkle," and the like.

The comedy-like quality of this passage perhaps suggests the impression that Mr. Wilson is always the good-natured comedian and actor, even in a labor of love like the book before us. The Life is, indeed, not a solemn one. Its aim is not, as the writer says in his preface, to give the facts of Jefferson's life, or to estimate his work as an actor, as has been done by Mr. William Winter; or, on the other hand, to depict the actor's personality, a thing done by Jefferson himself in the pages of his Autobiography; but "merely to set down the reminiscences, mostly anecdotal."

Much more, indeed, than the excellent anecdotes with which the book abounds, and the pleasant reminiscences which Mr. Wilson so copiously gives us, could hardly be looked for in a biography of a man so recently deceased as Jefferson. Furthermore, the nature of Jefferson's profession precludes, for the most part, any other source or method of interest than that of personality. An actor's success and fame are made during his lifetime, or not at all. His excellence lies in the hands of his contemporaries, and must chiefly be measured by his actual vogue. If he survive

[1] "Joseph Jefferson. Reminiscences of a Fellow Player." By Francis Wilson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

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his death, it is chiefly by name, as with Garrick, or in the affections of those who have seen him, as with Booth. *Vidi Virgilium tantum*, as Scott said of Burns. The precariousness of the actor's fame, Jefferson himself fully recognized:

> I shall not be remembered as an actor much longer than the lifetime of those who see me play. After that I may be the subject of an occasional anecdote, that's all. If the memory of me lives longer, it will be because of my book.

Immediate and personal as Mr. Wilson is, he does not, however, neglect to give a pretty complete account, if a scattering one, of Jefferson's activities as they came under his eye. Popularly, Jefferson was a beloved comedian who was, for fifty years, Rip Van Winkle and Bob Acres, and who often went fishing with his friend Mr. Cleveland. In Mr. Wilson's pages, Jefferson is not only these things, but also a pleasant author, a tactful speaker, a lover and collector of pictures, a painter — as his two exhibitions at Washington in 1899 and 1900 bear witness — of no mean merit, a gentle companion, and a wise and kindly man. The book is full of witty and keen sayings, and to this side of Jefferson's activity Mr. Wilson is himself too genial and genuine a comedian not to give full and interesting appreciation. Mr. Wilson is, naturally, no rival of Boswell in the literary field. For such praise, his book is too lacking in the true manner of winning desultoriness. Often, as in his chapter on the All-Star "Rivals," he tends to wander into triviality, nor does he give a really systematic account of the life of his master, apart from more or less grouped anecdotes. But his analysis of many of the elements of Jefferson's success — as in "Rip Van Winkle" — is a good one, and the chief impressions are agreeable.

A much more important book, one that when completed bids fair to become one of the important contributions to our biographical knowledge during recent years, is Birukoff's "Tolstoy," which comes in anonymous translation.[1] Tolstoy is, of course, among all living men, a character of the very first rank, and anything concerning him must command attention. M. Birukoff's method is mainly of the Boswellian type, but Boswell somewhat Germanized, or "scientifically" treated. That is to say, Mr. Birukoff has taken considerable pains — and with much friendly reverence, to collect material about his subject. This material he classifies, in his introduction, under four general heads: Tolstoy's own autobiographical notes, letters, and diaries; reminiscences and notices by friends and acquaintances; notices of the author from outside sources, and from his

[1] "Leo Tolstoy. His Life and Work." Autobiographical memoirs, letters, and biographical material, compiled by Paul Birukoff, and revised by Leo Tolstoy. Volume I, Childhood and Early Manhood. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

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own novels; and articles and books about the great Russian. The book is, as the author says, a compilation. It is a storehouse of material, and Mr. Birukoff modestly adds for his own share in the work only a modicum of passing comment and a compact conclusion.

The present volume carries Tolstoy from his birth, in 1828, to his marriage, in 1862. His life, externally, is not difficult to describe. He was born in the twentieth generation of a family which emigrated from Germany in the middle of the fourteenth century. To an ancestor, Peter Andreyevich Tolstoy, the title of count had been given in 1724 by the Empress Catherine. His mother was of the family of the Princes Volkonsky, descendants of Rurik, the reputed founder of the Russian monarchy. Tolstoy was himself born at Yasnaya Polyana, near Tula, some two hundred miles to the south of Moscow, and in these places he passed his boyhood. In 1844 he entered the University of Kazan, but, failing to apply himself except to the study of law, and dissatisfied with formal education, left the university at the end of three years. After four years at his birthplace and at Moscow, he suddenly, under the influence of his brother, entered the army, and during the next four years saw service, with credit to himself, against the tribes of the Caucasus, against the Turks on the Danube, and at Sebastopol. While in the army, he entered the field of literature by publishing, in September, 1852, his first work, "Childhood," in the St. Petersburg "Contemporary." From the end of the Crimean War he lived chiefly at St. Petersburg and Moscow, and during that time published several of his tales and reminiscences. The other chief occupations, up to his marriage, were two journeys to Western Europe and experiments in the education of his dependents and neighbors.

More interesting is the history of his inner life, since this supplies the motives for what was, on the surface, a somewhat shifting and desultory existence. The nature of this life is, for the most part, to be gathered from Tolstoy's own account of himself, written when he had acquired sufficient experience to adopt a rather critical perspective toward his boyhood days. The things which appear amid a copious body of introspective writing and anecdote are his failure to accept his surroundings, and the incompatibility between his ideals and what he conceived his character to be. As to the first of these, it was, for example, as his biographer says of his going to the Caucasus, "the unsuccessful attempt to keep house, the impossibility of establishing good relations with the peasants, and the passionate, perilous life, full of all kinds of excesses — [which] induced Tolstoy to search for a means of changing his mode of life."

Such failure to accept the world as he found it is everywhere apparent. "History," he said, according to the story of the fellow-student imprisoned with him at the university for some breach of discipline, "is nothing but a

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collection of fables and useless details, sprinkled with a quantity of unnecessary dates and proper names." His attitude to the training given in a formal university course was not unlike that of Gibbon, Carlyle, and Darwin. And, later, when he visited schools in Western Europe, he was dismayed by what he thought to be the viciousness and inadequacy of their attempts to teach their charges anything of real value. The same attitude he frequently carried into his intercourse with his friends, and, on more than one occasion — as, especially, in his quarrel with Turgenef — he was led by outspoken divergence of opinion into irreconcilable altercation. It is not to be thought, however, that Tolstoy approached his surroundings in a spirit of belligerency. Rather, he was a youth of strong sensibility, high ideals, and eager personality. Habitually, he was affectionate and gentle, inclined to introspection, much given to reflection, imaginative, a hater of brutality and cruelty.

As to the second point, Tolstoy's conflict with himself, there was evidently to be a long-continued struggle. Very early in life he came to the conclusion, as have most spiritually-minded and mystical men, that what counts is not facts and events, but one's attitude toward them. Like many great men, he thought that the kingdom of God is within you, that "wealth consists in substance, not in ciphers," that there is nothing "but thinking makes it so." Though impressing his companions as a grave and somewhat solitary youth, he was, nevertheless, of a very passionate temperament, fond of sports, gayety, and gaming, to which he frequently turned when the spirit failed to overcome the flesh. The conflict between his temperament and his spirit was a severe one. He looked upon himself with an almost morbid distrust, somewhat in the manner of Bunyan, with whom he had much in common. The difference, however, in training and in religious belief between himself and the English preacher, prevented his regarding himself as an eternally lost soul, as did his predecessor. Instead of fleeing the vengeance of an angry God, he rather chided himself for shortcomings in character. At the age of twenty-two, for example, he wrote in his diary:

> These are the causes of my failures: (1) Irresolution, *i.e.*, want of energy. (2) Self-deception. (3) Haste. (4) *Fausse-honte*. (5) A bad frame of mind. (6) Instability. (7) The habit of imitation. (8) Fickleness. (9) Thoughtlessness.

In view of such consciousness of failure, of which the biographer gives many instances, Tolstoy early began the struggle for perfection. At one time he indulged in flagellation, to teach himself to bear pain. With more intellectual and spiritual intent, he drew up rules of conduct and laid out for himself impossible programmes of work. Thus, in March, 1847, he wrote in his diary:

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I have greatly changed, but still have not attained that degree of perfection (in my occupations) which I would like to attain. I do not fulfil that which I set myself to do, and what I do fulfil I do not fulfil well, I do not exercise my memory. For this purpose I have here set down some rules, which, as it seems to me, would greatly help if I followed them:

(1) To fulfil, despite everything, that which I set myself.

(2) To fulfil well what I do fulfil.

(3) Never to refer to a book for what I have forgotten, but to endeavor to recall it to mind myself.

(4) Continually to compel my mind to work with the utmost power it is capable of.

(5) To read and think aloud always.

(6) Not to be ashamed of telling those who interrupt me that they hinder me; at first let them only feel it, hit them if they do not understand (that they are hindering me), then apologize and tell them so.

And in the following month, more specifically:

The object of life is the conscious aspiration toward the many-sided development of all that exists.

The object of life in the country during two years:

(1) To study the whole course of law necessary for the final university examination. (2) To study practical medicine and a part of the theory. (3) To study these languages: French, Russian, German, English, Italian, and Latin. (4) To study agriculture, both theoretically and practically. (5) To study history, geography, and statistics. (6) To study mathematics, gymnasium course. (7) To write my university essay. (8) To attain the highest possible perfection in music and painting. (9) To write down the rules of conduct. (10) To acquire some knowledge of the natural sciences. And (11) to compose essays on all the subjects I shall study.

Did ever man so grope and aspire after the unattainable! And yet, as his biographer says, "All the subsequent life of Tolstoy in the country is full of such dreams, good beginnings, and sincere and serious struggles with himself after perfection."

Resolutions like the foregoing are not uncommon to sincere and active minds, but they often reveal the fact that the writers do not justly estimate their own powers in relation to the world; and many men have made equally startling resolutions who have never afterward been heard from except as types of mind. What, of course, gives Tolstoy his great distinction, what has made his one of the great names of the century, was his great capacity for receiving impressions, his undying sincerity, and an uncommon gift of expression. These things are clear from the documents supplied by M. Birukoff. Tolstoy's success as a literary artist was immediate and striking. Few writers have sooner come to their own and been more widely read. The long years of apprenticeship were practically unknown to him. Rather — like Ruskin, and, in a wholly different vein, Swift — he early found his literary expression, and went on writing,

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gaining strength and substance as he proceeded, but always with a marked and individual quality.

It is evident, if one examines Tolstoy's work in the light of the present volume, that he is essentially a writer of himself. His gift of sincere and striking self-revelation is extraordinary, and many of the scenes which he so vividly describes are but transcripts of what he himself saw, or the imaginative groupings of his impressions and emotional reflections, as it were, on what he had seen and lived through. To such temperament and such experience are often chargeable, with Tolstoy as with Ruskin and writers like him, the frequent iteration and not uncommon prolixity of their work. Their very earnestness and intensity causes them to repeat themselves — causes them, if we may reverse the point of view, to create in the reader impressions of largeness and momentum and spirit, rather than to give him even and equable reflections and facts. Many of the observations and ideas cited in the present memoir seem, like parts of "Anna Karénina" or "Resurrection," to be comparatively trivial, but they gain force from the integrity, the candor, and the passionate earnestness of the spirit which informs and directs them.

A much more modest book, in point of size, than the "Tolstoy," though by no means so modest in the attitude of the author toward his subject, is Mr. Lang's "Sir Walter Scott." [1] Indeed, Mr. Lang's attitude is to some degree justifiable; for, as he says in the preface, "I have tried to compress as much as I may of the essence of Lockhart's great book into small space, with a few additions from other sources." Typically, then, "Sir Walter Scott" is a short-cut biography; and since in any process of squeezing some juice is liable to trickle away, Mr. Lang has been under the necessity of supplying much of the humor. One therefore finds a good deal of the writer of the present volume in its pages. There are remarks of this description:

> The design [*i.e.*, of writing a poem which should, in Scott's words, "make the earth yawn and devour the English," as it did at Bannockburn] was long deferred; and when it was fulfilled the Earth is not the only person who yawns in the course of "The Lord of the Isles."

Speaking of Constable's "Miscellany," he says:

> Real books had never prospered since cheap little volumes of boiled-down information, the tinned meats of the intellectual life, were introduced.

Of critics and novelists he says:

> In an age when an acquaintance with Fitz-Gerald's "Rubáiyàt" of Omar Khayyám, an exhaustive ignorance of all literature of the past, and an especial

[1] "Sir Walter Scott." By Andrew Lang. Literary Lives series. New York: Scribner's, 1906.

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contempt for Scott, whom Fitz-Gerald so intensely admired, are the equipment of many critics, we must be very cautious in praising the Waverley novels. They are not the work of a passionate, a squalid, or a wholly uneducated genius. They are not the work of any Peeping Tom who studies woman in her dressing-room, and tries to spy out the secrets of the eternally feminine. We have novels to-day — novels by males — full of clever sayings and dissections of womankind, which Scott would have thrown into the fire.

In a more serious vein, but with his same sureness of utterance, he tells us that:

> The man who killed the formation of private libraries was Walter Scott. His "Waverley" appeared in 1814, and henceforth few people purchased any books except novels. Poetry soon become a "drug on the market," and the taste for "the classics," whether ancient or modern, died away: the novel was everything, and presently novels were produced from the circulating library.

In fact, Mr. Lang's chief contribution in this volume is to our collection of epigrams, and to our stock of somewhat buoyant common sense.

Otherwise, though Mr. Lang never lets you yawn, his book is itself a specimen of intellectual "tinned meat." Except in the matter of condensing Lockhart, it is a bit difficult to see what addition the book makes to our convenience. It adds little to our knowledge. It is not so good as Hutton's "Scott" in the English Men of Letters series — the account of Scott's relations with the Ballantynes and Constable, and his subsequent failure, is much less lucid. Mr. Lang's judgment in regarding "Old Mortality," "The Heart of Mid-Lothian," "The Fortunes of Nigel," "Redgauntlet," and "The Fair Maid of Perth" as representing Scott's highest, though not most popular, achievement, is sound; but then, there has never been serious doubt about the matter. Even in the art of condensation, Mr. Lang could have learned much had he taken as his model Sir Leslie Stephen's excellent digest of Boswell's Johnson, in the English Men of Letters.

All in all, Mr. Lang's readable, if somewhat hasty, book belongs to the type of biography perhaps best represented, among biographies of recent years, by the "Browning" of Mr. Gilbert Chesterton. Sometimes one cannot see the author for the biographer. Certainly it is a curious phenomenon to see two such different books — each excellent in its way — in the same series as the "Browning" just cited and Mr. A. C. Benson's "Walter Pater." [1] The fact is pregnant with suggestion as to the catholicity of modern biography and criticism. Mr. Benson writes with the most scrupulous self-effacement. Throughout he walks warily, reverently, seriously, decorously, and his admiration is so constant that in

[1] "Walter Pater." By A. C. Benson. English Men of Letters. New York and London: Macmillan, 1906.

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one or two passages, as in the opening pages and the last chapter of the book, he falls somewhat into the manner of the master. Pater has been given into uncommonly sympathetic hands.

Mr. Benson's book is a more important one than Mr. Lang's, not by reason of the subject, but because the material has been less frequently exploited. The external facts are meagre. To most readers, Pater is to so great a degree an attitude of mind, a disembodied spirit, a type of intellectual beauty, a name and a style to conjure with, that to place him on the earth is like plucking bright honor from the pale-faced moon. The facts which Mr. Benson gives us would not fill many pages: Pater may possibly have come of Dutch family, his father was born in New York City, he himself spent, say, half of his life as fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, and the last eight or ten years mainly in Kensington, where, as at Oxford, he lived with great simplicity and reserve, producing one or two finished essays a year, from his "Coleridge," in 1866, until 1894, the year of his death. In appearance, he was a rather large-framed man, with a large pallid countenance, a projecting lower jaw, and long mustaches. In public he always wore a silk hat, and (the remark is not Mr. Benson's) he may occasionally — a circumstance which greatly amazed Mr. Max Beerbohm by reason of its incompatibility with his ideal of Pater — have carried yellow gloves. In manner, Pater was quiet, reserved, though friendly, courteous, never preoccupied. In attitude of mind he was gentle and reverent.

With so thin an array of facts and traits at his disposal, it is evident that Mr. Benson is obliged to treat Pater more as a spiritual process than as a human man. Accordingly, the major part of his book is given over to an account — with copious summaries — of Pater's writings. It is a summary of the contents of Pater's mind as expressed in his writings. In this respect it is, like Mr. Lang's "Scott," a short cut to something more voluminous. More than that, however, it tells clearly what were the ideals Pater set for himself to follow, intellectually and in point of expression.

Pater's art criticism was distinctly of a literary and traditional type. He made little attempt to trace or weigh the extrinsic value of works of art, or to discuss the subject from the archæological or the technical point of view. He accepted the traditional knowledge of the period, made no artistic discoveries, settled no controverted points. His concern was entirely with the artistic merits of a picture and its poetical suggestiveness; his criticism, indeed, was of the type which he defined in a review which he wrote many years afterward for the "Guardian," as "imaginative criticism" — "that criticism which is in itself a kind of construction, or creation, as it penetrates, through the given literary or artistic product, into the mental and inner constitution of the producer, shaping his work"; and thus the errors which he made . . . do not really affect the value of his criticism very greatly.

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This view is borne out by the doctrines in the introduction to "The Renaissance" and in the essay on Style. Pater was, after all, a medium for expressing beautiful sensations and perceptions as he received them; and his pains in style, his search for the right word, his "foreseeing the end in the beginning," were but means of being true to his impression.

What one misses in such a biography is, chiefly, any attempt at a collective estimate of Pater. What he stands for in the minds and affections of some scores of devoted followers is already pretty well known. Consequently, we would gladly know something of the range as well as the choiceness of his vogue, and whether there are any signs that the devotion of a few disciples is more than a passing vogue or affectation. Such questions are important critical ones, but, unfortunately, are seldom answered by biographers in other than such general phrases as: "His fame is secure," or: "He is of the kin of Shakespeare."

And, again, Mr. Benson is somewhat unsatisfactory in his passing accounts of what is commonly associated with Pater's name — style. It would surely be more illuminating to pass beyond the assumption that Pater's manner is a thing of beauty — if not a joy forever — and show more fully how it developed and finally went rather to seed, as in, say, the essay on Style. It is a question, indeed, whether the words of Mr. Benson in praise of that essay do not also carry its condemnation, rationally, as a form of expression:

> It is indeed so elaborate, so carefully wrought, it disdains so solemnly the devices that bring lucidity, the way-posts and milestones of the road, that in reading it one is apt to lose the sense of its structure and not to realize what a simple case he is presenting.

These criticisms come down to the fact that Mr. Benson is inclined to be somewhat too *a priori* and conjectural. Pater might have done so and so, but we are not really sure about the matter, is an occasional failing in the author's method. In respect to composition, Mr. Benson could easily have had a better notion of emphasis and salience.

It is difficult to see why four of the seventy small pages in Mr. Singer's rather miscellaneous volume on Rossetti[1] should be taken up with quoting "The Blessed Damozel." Concerning this, the author says that "it is the most wonderful piece of work, in all the history of the world, which has ever been produced by a youth of less than nineteen summers." Extravagant praise, surely. The sketch, in the main, contains several interesting observations and some facts, but little that is new; it merely attempts to popularize knowledge. Such being the case, it is a great pity that Mr. Singer did not take a leaf from Johnson — to whose "Lives" the

[1] "Dante Gabriel Rossetti." By H. W. Singer. The Langham Series of Art Monographs. New York: Scribner's, 1906.

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present volume in some respects, as a type, conforms — and learn to write clear, straightforward narrative and exposition, the desideratum in works designed for popular use. The tendency of Mr. Singer is toward a protagonist attitude, and occasionally he allows his enthusiasm to reach the point of mystification, though he never attains the pretentious and paradoxical perfection of obscurity of, say, the last fifty pages of Mr. Chesterton's sketch of Watts, wherein the panegyric and apotheosis of the human back and the earthiness of the colors on Mr. Watts's pallette are the most questionable things which I remember ever having seen from the pen of a serious critic. But perhaps Mr. Chesterton was not serious.

Interesting as are these biographies, what one notices in them all, in varying degree, is lack of centrality of effect and fusion of facts into a composition. And it is to be presumed that they are all typical, in various ways, of much modern biographical composition. It is to be regretted that they do not, in some instances, follow more closely the principles dominating the two great typical examples of biography which were cited at the beginning of this review, and from both of which he who would write clearly and simply and plainly has much to learn.

William T. Brewster.

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THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

EVERY month brings us nearer to the recognition of the need of speedy readjustment of the programmes of elementary and secondary schools. A new civilization is upon us, with problems and ideals which could not even have been dreamed of by the makers of the traditional courses of study. In the economic field, especially, changes have taken place which amount almost to a revolution. We have seen the apprentice system disappear, and machine product taking the place of the product of the hand. The control of machinery requires a knowledge and skill for which there was no demand in the past. The anomalous condition presenting itself is, that economic life expects individuals to possess a training for which no provision is made in the general scheme of education. The boy leaving school at fourteen or sixteen, finding no apprentice period offered him, and having obtained no training directly fitting him for a practical pursuit, must needs drift until by sheer strength of will and ingenuity he hews out for himself some definite life-work. At best there is a tremendous waste of time and energy for want of specific direction. This danger, added to the fact that a large proportion of the graduates of our schools lack self-direction, accounts to a considerable extent for the vast number of unskilled laborers which threaten the industrial peace of the world.

There seems to be no place in present-day economy for "the average boy" as the past knew him. The reason for this is that life outside of the school-room took him in hand and prepared him by more or less heroic methods for useful pursuits. Now, the burden of responsibility has been shifted upon the schools, but no provision has been made to enable and compel the schools to meet the new requirements. The industrial world has pocketed the savings accruing to it from the abolition of the apprentice system, and has not appropriately endowed the institutions to which it looks for an assumption of its former responsibilities.

Financial support and compulsory introduction of industrial training will not solve the problem. The attitude of the schools must adjust itself to the spirit of the present civilization before they can be safely entrusted to the wise expenditure of the funds. There must be a frank and full acknowledgment of the inadequacy of their traditional literary programme. The gospel of education must be that manual skill is a surer equipment for the battle of life than are turrets and swords; that freedom is vouchsafed to him only who can share productively in the labor of the world. As long

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as the designing brain is nurtured by an almost purely literary and mathematical programme, and willing hands are not given in school the encouragement of recognition, training, and reward, so long will there be industrial tyrants and a disheartened proletariat. The producer is in need of a definite form of intelligence which he can utilize to advantage in his special pursuit. The agent for the sale of the finished products is in need of that practical acquaintance with the methods of production which will enable him to present his claims intelligently. The manufacturer must have an extensive knowledge of the industrial and commercial activities involved in his particular enterprise, if he wants to be permanently successful; the ever increasing stress of competition will compel him to be thoroughly conversant with the economics of his enterprise.

Nowhere are the industrial needs more intelligently recognized than in Germany. Our own department of Commerce and Labor has recently issued a remarkable volume of special consular reports on "Industrial Education and Industrial Conditions in Germany," which is deserving of the most careful attention of all thoughtful people. England is making strenuous efforts to keep up with Germany in the extension of technical education. France and Italy are wrestling with the problem. Japan, too, has entered the industrial arena, and will before long be joined by China. We in America can hardly afford to delay action.

The German "continuation schools" are especially worth studying. They are attended by the children above fourteen years of age who must go to work to earn a living. Some of these schools concern themselves with general industrial training, while others specialize on commercial subjects. The cultural studies are carried on in all of them. German, drawing, and arithmetic are taught everywhere. Some of the more favored schools add to this, advanced work in geometry, physics, and chemistry. The commercial schools emphasize bookkeeping, correspondence, languages, commercial arithmetic, commercial geography, and office work. The industrial schools supply instruction in the subjects which have particularly practical value to the local industry or industries. The continuation schools, which really complement primary education, are in session in the evenings and on Sundays, thus enabling their pupils to labor at money-earning occupations during the week days. General education is throughout considered fundamental to industrial training. The pre-eminence of drawing impresses itself particularly on the observation of the American visitor. The method of instruction is intensely practical. In German, for example, the reading matter deals chiefly with industrial and business subjects, with technology, with the laws, especially those governing labor and commerce, and with political economy, especially in reference to the institutions

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with which the every-day citizen is likely to come in most frequent contact. The industrial continuation schools for girls generally include the household arts in addition to general culture subjects and instruction in the local industries where woman's labor is most in demand.

The leaders in the field of technical education in Germany fully recognize that a high degree of efficiency is necessary to preserve Germany's hold upon foreign markets. Thus Herr Möller, the Prussian minister of commerce, in an address referred to by United States Consul-General Mason at Berlin, said:

> Those whom we have been pushing out are beginning to defend themselves. Our former markets are becoming producing countries, and we shall doubtless have to see certain branches of our business decline and pass over to other countries which have cheaper labor than we. Hence we shall be more and more obliged to perfect our industries, and not only to follow up promptly all novelties and changes of taste, but to take the lead in creating such changes.

Considering that in the department of chemical manufacture alone Germany produces a total annual output of about $300,000,000, the weight of this consideration appeals very strongly to the thoughtful citizen. It is because the need of efficient technical training is so thoroughly realized that the German people have cheerfully consented to be taxed for the support and development of industrial education. The buildings occupied by several of the technical high schools are palaces, speaking more eloquently than words could do of the important place they occupy. It is doubtful whether a more beautiful structure than that occupied by the Technical High School of Charlottenburg was ever set aside anywhere for industrial training purposes.

A significant indication of the present trend in our own land is the meeting in behalf of Technical and Industrial Education recently held under the auspices of the Graduates Club of New York City, and presided over by Dr. James P. Haney. The Hon. John C. Monaghan, of the Bureau of Manufacturers, Department of Commerce and Labor, spoke especially of the lessons to be learned of the industrial schools of Germany which he investigated as an officer of the government. Dr. Thomas M. Balliet, for many years superintendent of the schools of Springfield, Massachusetts, and now Dean of the School of Pedagogy of New York University, presented the necessity of Technical High Schools. Mr. J. Ernest G. Yalden, superintendent of the Baron Hirsch Trade School of New York City, pleaded for the establishment of apprentice trade schools as supplementary to public elementary education. Mr. Milton P. Higgins, of Worcester, Massachusetts, and Mr. Magnus Alexander, of Lynn, both identified with large manufacturing enterprises, described plans for meeting the most urgent demands resulting from modern industrial conditions.

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Prof. Richards of Columbia University called attention to the investigations made by a Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, which showed that seventy per cent of families would permit their boys to attend school two years longer than they do if corresponding industrial advantages would result. Mr. Dean, general supervisor of industrial work for the Y. M. C. A., also referred to this report, which relates particularly to the age of the working child from twelve to sixteen. The investigations were to determine what these years in industrial life meant to a child, and what their value might have been. The opinion was expressed that "these three or four years of a working child's life are practically wasted, so far as productive value or efficiency is concerned; that any scheme of education which is to increase the product-efficiency of a child must consider the child of fourteen; and, finally, that the education which fits a child best for his place in the world as a producer tends to his own highest development, physically, intellectually, and morally."

Mr. Monaghan called attention to a fact to which national vanity has been blind hitherto, and that is, that our phenomenal material prosperity is due in a large degree to what have seemed to be inexhaustible industrial resources. With thousands of acres of productive land at his disposal, a farmer does not very seriously entertain the idea of scientific agriculture. With hundreds of thousands of acres of forest land in existence, the wisdom of scientific economy has not made much of an impression upon the lumber man. The havoc wrought by the squandering of our inheritance, and the wanton destruction of a capital which should have been carefully administered for the benefit of generations yet unborn has hastened the need of training in practical industrial economics. The discovery that the knowledge acquired at school was in no wise utilized as it might have been in industrial life has further established the need of correlating the lives of boys and girls to the environment in which they are living and that in which most likely they will have their being after the door of the school is closed behind them.

Dr. Balliet has been recognized for several years as a leader in the field of public technical education. The experiments worked out at Springfield, Massachusetts, under his direction laid a sane foundation for the work most needed at the present time. He argued especially for technical schools, and the rank of secondary schools "in which may be trained that large class of men who come between the engineer and the skilled workman." He would have day high-schools with four-year courses, giving, besides the purely literary training of the traditional programme, thorough instruction in mathematics, mechanics, physics, and chemistry in their applications to the various industries. These schools should teach

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mechanical and free-hand drawing, including designing, and should require daily shop work throughout the course, to give a student the principles and many of the details of practice in a number of the trades. He would supply also evening technical schools which should give to skilled workmen, without interruption to their daily work, an opportunity to acquire the necessary scientific and technical training to fit themselves for positions as foremen and superintendents. Mr. Higgins, from his extensive observation, explained that the trade which was formerly taught to the apprentice in close relationship with his master must now be acquired in trade schools, and that the occupations most urgently demanding such schools are those that have to do with machinery, including machinists, pattern-makers, and foundry men. He suggested that such a training school should be organized for the object of teaching trades to boys attending school on half time, one half of the class being in the training shop, while the other was attending to the usual work of the school. He, too, held that the age for beginners should be fourteen or fifteen years, and he felt assured that the pupils would go out at the end of a four-years' course as skilled mechanics worth from two dollars to three dollars a day, with a good education and excellent prospects of advancement.

Mr. Alexander pointed out that a new system of apprenticeship has come into existence. The General Electric Company at West Lynn, Massachusetts, recognizing these conditions, has for the last five years carried on and developed an apprenticeship system which has proved very successful. Applicants have to serve a trial period of from one to two months, during which time they are under the closest scrutiny of a man well qualified to observe the general make-up of the boys. Those who in this period give promise of becoming good artisans are allowed to sign the regular apprenticeship agreement, covering four years of service, with a wage scale, making the boy self-supporting from the very beginning. The aim is not only to develop skilled machinists and tool-makers, carpenters and pattern-makers, iron, steel and brass moulders, instrument makers and electrical workers, etc., but also to develop a class of artisans from whom men for leading positions in the factory may be chosen for assistant foremen, foremen, master mechanics, and superintendents. The following extract from Mr. Alexander's address is particularly worthy of note, as it goes to the very root of the problem:

> The modern industrial conditions with their specializing tendencies have introduced complicated specializing machinery, which often can be manipulated only by operatives who have achieved skill in the handling of that particular machine. These conditions, however, have called for a new type of employee, one who can not only operate the complicated machinery, but who also understands the nature of the machine, how to doctor its ills, and to provide it with the auxiliary tool equipment that is neces-

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sary for the performance of some specific operation. To occupy such responsible positions, therefore, not only requires dexterity of hand, but also industrial intelligence, which the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education has defined as the mental power to see beyond the task which occupies the hands for the moment to the operations which have preceded and to those which will follow it, — power to take in the whole process, knowledge of materials, ideas of cost, ideas of organization, business sense, and a conscience which recognizes obligations.

Here is indicated a line of thought which has direct bearing upon the reconstruction of school programmes.

The Technical Education evening of the Graduates Club was followed by a three days' session of the Eastern Associations of Art and Manual Training Teachers. The combining of these two organizations in one convention was in itself a significant event. Art and manual training, as far as the elementary schools are concerned, are very profitably taught in close interrelation. This idea has been most fully worked out in the schools of Manhattan and the Bronx, under the leadership of Dr. James P. Haney. Drawing, color work, design, and construction are not taught as separate subjects, but as interrelated parts of one productive whole. At the same time, this work has been correlated with the other studies of the school in such a manner as to bring unity and purpose into a programme which, in itself, would lack cohesion and unification.

The exhibit supplied by Dr. Haney for the meeting gave a very clear idea of the fundamental outlines of his plan, which represents a distinct departure in manual training. It is governed neither by the so-called social-epoch theory, nor does it permit manual training to be treated as a separate subject with a content of its own, as some educators would have it. Dr. Haney aims rather to make the arts serve as modes of expression and as aids to a practical interpretation of the course of study in terms of drawing, construction, and design. In the early years, when the programme of the school is bare and meagre and occupied chiefly with mechanics of the three arts, he utilizes topics chosen from the children's environment, which by the daily contact are endowed with an intense interest. Later on, as the course grows richer, the topics of the programme themselves become the centre around which the arts and crafts revolve.

Dr. Haney's work may well serve as a highly suggestive model for elementary schools with regard to a general art-industrial training. Meanwhile, a departure has been made at Springfield, Massachusetts, in the direction of a specifically practical preparation for the mechanical trades. This marks the first beginning in supplying this sort of instruction through the common schools at public expense. Seven years ago there was established in the shops of the Manual Training High School a course of trade instruction for men already at work. Classes were formed in mechanical

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drawing, in plumbing, in machine-shop practice, in tool making, and in pattern-making. Later classes were added in electricity and applied mechanics. All instruction was given with a view to immediate application to the mechanical trades. Those especially favored were men who had no opportunity in their shops to learn more than a small part of their trade. The plan was to give them an opportunity to learn the whole of it. The expense involved in opening this night school was insignificant, compared with the results. It meant simply a fuller utilization of the school plant. The shops were already in existence as part of the equipment of the Manual Training High School. The salaries of the teachers formed practically the only additional expense involved. Tuition has been free from the beginning, though a small sum is charged to cover waste of material. The school enjoys the favor of both the labor unions and the employers, and has the proud distinction of being the first trade school ever established and conducted in this country wholly at public expense. New York City has applied the lesson of the Springfield enterprise, and has itself established two similar schools, one in the Brooklyn Manual Training High School and the other in the High School of Long Island City. There is no reason why this plan should not be feasible for every manual-training high-school in the country.

New York City, which for many years lagged behind the rest of the country in supplying manual training in connection with secondary schools, has recently become the leader in a new departure aiming at the industrial education of girls. Whoever it was who conceived the idea of the Girls' Technical High School as an integral part of the common-scohol system conferred a great boon upon the whole country. Little thanks are due to those whose official support could have effectually promoted the development of it. The designated purpose of the school was for three years pushed to the background, and theory played foot-ball with the course of study. Nothing but sound common sense, indomitable courage, and an ingenuity which knows how to turn opposition to good uses, could have enabled the friends of the school to preserve its life in spite of the stringent absent treatment proposed for it by those whose self-appointed task is to debate educational questions in the abstract. It has been singularly characteristic of New York common-school administration to object to everything having the smell of bread-and-butter about it. Young women who have been graduated from the grammar schools of Manhattan have not been impressed by their instructors with even a suggestion that a course of study which takes frank recognition of the practical means of life may have as much dignity about it as one composed of the ordinary high-school trivium.

Tradition has a very strong hold upon Little Old New York, especially

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in matters educational. The management of the Girls' Technical High School, fortunately for its continuance, realize that the kind of work to be done must win the approval by patient and vigilant procedure. Even the teachers assigned to the school not infrequently brought with them the ordinary prejudices against obviously useful subjects. The introduction of a new religion into a hostile community could not have met with more obstacles. A year ago the tide of opinion began to turn in favor of the school. The faction in the Board of Education which had been intensely hostile to the designated object of the school melted away. The president, who is a decided champion of technical education, appointed a high-school committee in sympathy with the work. One point already gained is that a site has been purchased for the erection of a new building. The essential characteristics of the school's policy have been vindicated.

So far as Mr. William McAndrew, the principal, has been able to shape the work of the school, which is scattered over several buildings and is sadly wanting in adequate equipment, the aim has been, and is, to make the girls self-supporting and skilled in some special occupation in which womanliness need not be sacrificed, but adds rather to the economical value of the work. Dressmaking, millinery, designing, the household arts, printing, stenography, journalism, book-keeping, and various forms of manual trades are promoted. The academic training is not at all neglected. It stands second to none, ranking with that supplied by the schools with a purely literary programme.

Self-reliance, personal initiative, and good cheer are encouraged to the fullest extent. How intensely practical the instruction is may be judged from the fact that at the recent exhibit of the school the most satisfactory part of the display consisted of the girls themselves, dressed in the results of their own labors. Attention is given also to the cultivation of grace by such exercises as performing the minuet and folk dances. The physical well-being of the girls receives the most careful attention. Self-expression is given fullest encouragement. Repression is almost eliminated from the list of disciplinary measures. Teachers send each morning to the principal's office the best work of the preceding day, and the head of the school is placed in a position to praise rather than to reproach. The spirit and methods of the schools are different from conventional models. The school marks an important departure in a work most urgently needed in the present stage of our civilization.

This brings up the whole question of the preparation of girls for the duties of life. The problem is an entirely new one, and a solution is urgently demanded. A small child told me a few days since, with utter astonishment, that she saw "a trolley-car drawn by horses." Yet the schools in general have not taken cognizance even of the fact that the stage-

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coach and the horse-car have been retired. Their programmes do not reveal the tremendous changes which have taken place in the economic field. They do not seem to know that the proportion of men and women in certain lines of occupation has been wellnigh reversed. They need to be told that an education which does not prepare for the realities of adult life is a fraud upon humanity.

What of the girls now growing up? The family ideal has become inadequate under the stress of the newer economic demands. At the same time, it will be a sad day for civilization when the home ceases to be regarded as the basic unit of society. The young girl of to-day who looks forward to matrimony as the aim and end of her existence is in a pitiable plight. The number of men worthy to be the stay and support of a woman, and able to meet the requirements of a household, is relentlessly diminishing. On the other hand, a girl who enters upon a work requiring considerable preparation can hardly be expected to dismiss forever her business interests on the eve of her wedding day. If she does yield them lightly, she is of little value to the world, and her family will be none the richer for her having shared in the business of life. We expect of her — as we do of boys — that she shall devote her best self to whatever occupation she may turn to. Make-shift and time-serving laborers suffer serious consequences in their character.

What can the schools do? There is no doubt that they were originally instituted for the boys. From the start the programmes were shaped by the needs of the learned professions. They have never got away from this basis. The colleges have kept elementary and secondary education in the bondage of tradition. In the course of time various pedagogic excuses were invented to account for the school programmes as if they were moulded wholly by the general needs of humanity. "Mental development," "harmonious development of powers," "formation of character," were convenient terms behind which antiquated notions could be kept alive, concealed from the vulgar gaze. Once having placed the schools on the platform of "mental development," "h. d. o. p.," "f. o. c.," etc., there appeared to be no reason why the girls should not be included under the same programme.

Attempts to humanize the teaching of the schools have invariably met with opposition from the guardians of the learned professions. When, in spite of this opposition, industrial and "practical" considerations, pure and simple, are establishing themselves, it is because the institutions for higher education are reluctantly compelled to acknowledge them, and they do it on grounds of physiological psychology.

Where do we stand now? Everything is beautifully systematized. Logic reigns supreme. The fact that real human needs of the young are

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not as logical is admitted academically, but not practically. The schools are machines. Co-education, no doubt, is a great advance over the exclusion of girls in whole or in part from the educational opportunities held out to the boys. But under the relentless sway of system, the outcome has been that boys and girls now pass through the same hopper.

Few special things are done for the girls. We teach them sewing, to be sure. But, as if it were a crime to teach something distinctive to girls, the would-be radicals asked immediately upon the introduction of this craft, "Why should not boys sew, too?" Another victory was to be won for deadly uniformity. But the human elements in the people who pay the bills failed to approve. Sewing is taught to the girls. We teach them cooking, too, in a few schools. This is a splendid departure; and the freer it is kept from "scholastic" considerations, the more it will do for the world. It supplies a basis for the argument which has been, and still is in some quarters, the Cinderella of education. Some day actual preparation for the actual duties of actual individuals will be frankly acknowledged as a form for school programmes. What the Girls' Technical High School of New York City is ideally trying to do points out a way.

Every girl has a right to the fullest development of her womanhood. There is nothing more precious in the world than womanhood. The school which does not by all means in its power labor for the preservation of this treasure is neglecting a great opportunity. Yet, while womanhood and motherhood are ideally synonymous, the day when marriage was considered necessary for the support of a girl is no more. That girls still need to be trained in all that is necessary to make the most of the privileges and duties of motherhood no one will deny. But, aside from this, the girls, just as the boys, want opportunities to find for themselves a place in the economy of civilization. They want, and have a right, to be permitted and encouraged to make a choice, and to prepare for their chosen vocation with enthusiasm and the determination to succeed in the life of usefulness to come.

OSSIAN H. LANG.

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CHRISTIAN IX OF DENMARK.

TRANQUIL as the life he had led as the beloved ruler of the Danes, the passing of King Christian IX of Denmark proved a fitting end to a career conspicuous for simplicity and uprightness. Seldom has the death of a sovereign evoked expressions of regret so uniformly sincere as the messages of condolence which poured into the Danish capital immediately following the announcement of January 29. From near and far, from high and humble alike, came heart-felt sentiments expressive of the esteem in which the aged monarch was held by all who knew his reign to be unequalled in point of years, serene judgment, and unfailing desire to dispense justice. Dramatic incidents there were none to mark the final hour which King Christian passed on earth. A simple farewell to those standing in sorrowful attendance was the last message to family and friends. And so he died, fully conscious of the fact that he held his people's love to an extent that history must put on record. That he was honored beyond the confines of the little country over which he ruled so justly, the presence of special representatives of foreign governments and of royalty itself at the funeral bore telling evidence.

Simple, yet dignified, as behooved an event which placed almost every European court in mourning, the obsequies at Roskilde consigned to their final resting-place the remains of a noble King where for more than a thousand years the Danish rulers have been buried. For Roskilde is the ancient capital of Denmark, where traditions cluster around the achievements of the nation at a time when all Scandinavia, and part of Germany, belonged to the Viking race. Then, after the final burial rites had been performed, and the late King Christian had been placed at rest by the side of his beloved Queen Louise, who died in 1898, a shot rang out, and Yussuf, the favorite riding horse of the King, passed with his master into eternity. It was in accordance with the old Danish custom that when the ruler dies his charger shall not survive.

That William II, of Germany, should have considered it his bounden duty to be a personal mourner at the bier of the Danish King is not in this instance to be charged to eccentricity on the part of the Kaiser, whose spontaneity has been frequently of a kind making for uneasiness among nations. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, only the high esteem in which Emperor William held the late King Christian could have induced the former to start post-haste for Denmark. Even during the lifetime of

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Queen Louise, it must be remembered, William II made repeated efforts to be included in the famous family circle which gathered annually at the castle of Fredensborg, near Copenhagen. But the Queen of Denmark at that time had still fresh in mind the loss sustained by her country when the war with Germany deprived the nation of Schleswig-Holstein. However, it is to the credit of William the Persistent that from each succeeding visit to the Danish court he has come away more and more impressed with the simplicity of the family life existing there. Also, he has been instrumental in having made less bitter the antagonistic feeling heretofore existing among the Danes against the southern neighbor. Especially in Copenhagen the Kaiser's visits have not only strengthened the ties of commerce between Germany and Denmark, but even something like cordiality has of late sprung up. Since the last war on the Continent, the European chancelleries have seen not a few changes touching political alliances. Former grievances have been erased from more than one slate. William of Germany had reason to believe that personally the Danes could bear him no ill-will. His presence at the funeral of King Christian, therefore, was diplomatically correct, and constituted his graceful acknowledgment of the noble characteristics inherent in his fellow-sovereign.

While the attendance of the Kaiser at the funeral was the result of sentiment, perhaps, direct family ties were responsible for the presence of the many other crowned heads that paid final tribute to the King of Denmark. The relationship of Christian IX was so extensive that on this particular score no other monarch could brook comparison. The press of the Western Hemisphere has repeatedly called the attention of the reading public to the interesting members of royalty in other lands that have sprung from the Danish house. England, Russia, Sweden, Norway, France, Germany — every European nation, almost — is allied to the late King of Denmark through marriage. One of the smallest among the European kingdoms, yet the country gave to England her present queen. George of Greece is a son of the late Danish king; the Dowager-Empress of All the Russias is his daughter; King Haakon VII of Norway is a grandson of the deceased monarch. History, perhaps, may assign to the late King of Denmark the title of Christian the Good; still, he will go down to posterity as the "Grandfather of Kings" and the "Father-in-Law of Europe."

When Christian IX passed away he had almost reached the patriarchal age of eighty-eight years. April 8 would have been celebrated with exceptional pomp by the Danish nation, had the old ruler been spared for that anniversary. In fact, each succeeding birthday since the king became an octogenarian has been an event of moment throughout the entire land. In the peasant's hut, no less so than in the palace of the

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noble, the venerable sovereign was accorded homage on his natal day. In city and hamlet flags would fly in honor of the day, bands would play the national anthem, and citizens would assemble for the purpose of paying tribute because Providence had left King Christian in the full enjoyment of his mental and physical faculties. The world sent greetings to the Fredensborg palace; and the children of the king from near-by or far distant countries would assemble around the family board, presenting a picture the counterpart of which no other royal house has ever had to offer.

While in the natural order of things it seemed self-evident that the day could not be far distant when good King Christian would be gathered to his fathers, so closely and so long had he been identified with the cause of his people in both prosperity and adversity that when the church bells rang forth their sad message that the King of Denmark had passed to his reward it proved a stunning blow to the entire nation. Within the very hour, almost, of his death his health had been as good as at any time during the past few years. When the summons came he had the satisfaction of knowing the world to be at peace, comparatively. Few realize the pangs it gave him to have the Russian Czar and the Mikado of Japan fight such bloody wars in an hour when he knew his own career was about to close. And it pleased King Christian beyond measure when the Portsmouth treaty went into effect; and, with the contention between Sweden and Norway settled satisfactorily to both countries, the restoration of quiet in Scandinavia resulted in the further honor to his lineage that his grandson, Charles, ascended the Norwegian throne as King Haakon VII.

The King is dead, long live the King! may be a truism applicable without comment. Still, the loss of Christian IX to his country will be felt more keenly as the years pass by. Even though Frederick VIII is the worthy son of a worthy father, time alone can cement a friendship like that which existed between his royal parent and the nation. Frederick, undoubtedly, will know how to uphold the traditions established by his namesake, Frederick VII, the granter of the liberal Danish Constitution. Like his father, who followed in the footsteps of the noble Frederick, the present King of Denmark must realize the necessity of popular coöperation. Only in this manner can he exercise his prerogative without running counter to whatever political activity may assert itself during the reign upon which he has just entered.

The predominant characteristics of the late King Christian were, as has been intimated, democratic simplicity and a high sense of justice as it concerned everybody without distinction. From the standard he set himself he never swerved. Like a golden thread in a spotless fabric, his loyalty to himself brought out this finer quality even at the risk during the beginning of his reign of being misunderstood by many. That he was open to argu-

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ment, however, he evinced on more than one occasion when, in spite of tremendous pressure in certain quarters, he would follow the dictates of the masses, though apparently this policy was diametrically opposed to the best interests of royalty itself.

Neutrality, at the same time, was the one great force which made the Danish monarch loom up so conspicuous a factor at home and abroad. During the fiercest political agitations in Denmark, notwithstanding arguments to the contrary, he aimed at maintaining an equity as it concerned his own participation in the affairs of the government. Had he done otherwise, the monarchical institution would perforce have been swept away, and the integrity of the country would have been threatened to the point of breaking. It was because King Christian knew the danger that lurked in a republican Denmark that he wished to make the régime as suitable as possible to the liberal aspirations that pervaded the nation. True enough, it took years before he yielded finally to the demand, which culminated in the formation of the Liberal cabinet. That the personality of Christian IX during that formative period of stress and turmoil never for an instant was exposed to the derogatory attacks not uncommonly made use of by political agitators explains the esteem in which he was held, no matter whether by those in power or by the rank and file of the opposition. As far as it lay in his control, he wished to be a part of the entire nation, and not the leader of a faction merely.

From the standpoint of diplomacy, as the astute art is practised by the initiated in Europe, Christian IX was not considered a success. The diplomacy which concerns itself with intrigues and entangling alliance believed for a certainty that on more than one occasion the King of Denmark missed his chance. To the unscrupulous politician, who deems the welfare of the people as a whole of secondary importance to his own selfish desires, the neutral attitude of King Christian was incomprehensible. Backed by the then all-powerful Russian Czar, it would, perhaps, have been possible some years ago to have compelled Germany to restore to Denmark the provinces of which she was despoiled in the early sixties. England, too, might not have been unwilling to lend a hand where it meant humiliation to the Kaiser and the German nation. Powerful agencies were at work to bring the peacefully inclined Danes within the maelstrom of European politics. It meant the parting of the ways; and the intuition of the Danish ruler showed him the straight road which led past pitfalls at the bottom of which were the whitened bones of more than one of the lesser kingdoms and of principalities doomed through ambition to be absorbed by some great power. Neutrality, again, won the day, and the present inviolability of Denmark is due in no small degree to this policy of standing aside and letting others fight their own battles.

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If by diplomacy, however, is meant that higher ethics, the practice of which leads to a better understanding between individuals without the securing of special advantages, then the late King Christian can be rightfully included as among the most successful of diplomatists. Entirely apart from the relationship which the English reigning family bore to him, and in no manner influenced by the fact that his grandson occupied the throne of Russia, the late king acted the rôle of pacifier because his inclinations had always been in the direction of peace and good-will among men. Both during the lifetime of Queen Louise, and afterward, the palace of Fredensborg meant to the royal Danish family exactly what it implied in the vernacular — the palace of peace. In the eyes of Europe, Fredensborg stood as a higher tribunal where personal grievances were adjudicated as it concerned emperors or kings or princes. The principles of The Hague became paramount here long before nations awoke to the necessity of international courts of arbitration. Does not this account for the wish of William of Germany to enter the charmed circle, where selfish aggrandizement was not tolerated, and the individual was judged through merit only? Can diplomatic tact carry further than thus encompassing elements naturally antagonistic, and having the lion and the lamb lie down together in blissful peace?

Favored by nature with a constitution which from early youth bespoke that physical perfection which is the groundwork of high mentality, King Christian knew how to husband his strength; and his family life remained as simple as it had been in the days previous to his elevation to the throne of Denmark. Reared in the school of daily struggle, he never forgot the lesson which teaches dependence on self through self-denial. Few princes in a similar position would have held to the identical programme when fortune at last smiled on an existence by no means to be envied. Poor in pocket, but confident that matters adjust themselves according to an all-wise Providence, in which King Christian never lost his faith, he married and brought up his family while practising the most rigid economy. Kindness and consideration for the least of those who served the princely couple characterized the family which during that earlier period little anticipated that a royal throne stood in waiting for the fourth son of Duke William of Glucksburg.

Tall of stature and with handsome features, opportunities had not been wanting for Prince Christian to have married above his rank. When the question of the bestowal of Queen Victoria's hand interested every royal family in Europe, it was whispered about that the young Danish cavalry officer might prove acceptable in the premises. But just as Victoria chose her own Prince Consort, it was a real love-match which brought about the marriage of Prince Christian to the Hessian Princess Louise. Matrimonial

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affinity was the paramount question. In all those years since 1842, the character of the late King Christian never permitted the raising of a finger. Do the annals of European court life contain many royal biographies similarly free from stain?

To the day of his death, almost, Christian IX retained his grace of carriage and held the record as one of the finest horsemen of the country. His health when he entered the eighties would have fitted a person half his age. In daily exercise he held his own with the youthful grandchildren whose company kept him young in body as well as in mind. The citizens of Copenhagen knew the aged monarch for one of the most ardent of pedestrians; and the workman bound for his daily task became accustomed to the kindly greeting of his King when the latter was taking his morning constitutional in the vicinity of the palace grounds.

Fate decreed that, in the hour when Prince Christian became King of Denmark, the territory where stood his cradle passed into the hands of Prussia. The war of 1863 resulted in the loss of the province where he was born on April 8, 1818. His father was Duke Frederick Wilhelm of Schleswig-Holstein-Soenderborg-Glucksburg. His mother was a grand-daughter of King Frederick V, and a sister to the wife of Frederick VI. Prince Christian was the sixth of nine children, and he was only thirteen years old when his father died. Following the wishes of the dying man, the young princes were brought under the guardianship of Frederick VI; and, as a favorite of this Danish king, Prince Christian, at the age of fifteen years, was sent on a special mission to the court of St. James, in order to convey a greeting to Queen Victoria on the occasion of the latter's ascension to the British throne.

Not only did Prince Christian receive a thorough military training, but his education was also instrumental in furnishing him with a full knowledge of what at that time was essential to the individual of superior birth. Two years were spent at the University at Bonn, and when on his return from the famous German town the young prince paid a visit to Berlin, King Frederick Wilhelm IV tendered him an especially cordial reception.

On the twenty-second of May, 1842, Prince Christian was married to Princess Louise Vilhelmine Frederikke Karoline Augusta Julia of Hesse-Cassel. A new chapter opened up in the career of the young nobleman, and the family life, as it now developed, was an inspiration from the day when the perfectly matched couple moved into the yellow palace in Amalie street. The expectations that the Danish nation at that time held out regarding another princely couple, the then Crown Prince Frederick—later King Frederick VII—and his wife, Princess Mariane of Mecklenburg, suffered disappointment, and public opinion more and more turned in the

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direction of Prince Christian and Princess Louise as the ones most likely to solve a problem which concerned itself considerably with the succession to the Danish throne. Even then, however, the candidature of the Danish prince was merely a far-fetched supposition. No one could at that time have guessed that the son born to the young couple the year following would to-day be the King of Denmark, as the successor to his father who had yet to show his mettle in war and peace.

It was ten years later that Prince Christian was chosen Prince of Denmark and became the heir to the Danish throne. On July 31, 1853, the Danish Chamber voted him as eligible by virtue of his wife's mother having been the sister to King Christian VIII. The protocol of London proved all Europe satisfied with this choice; and when King Frederick VII died, on November 15, 1863, Christian IX was proclaimed as his successor. It was the beginning of a reign which was to last for more than forty-two years; and it proved a record remarkable because of the influence wielded by the royal Danish family from then up to the present time.

Six children were born to King Christian and Queen Louise. However, none first saw the light of day as royal issue. Following Frederick — the present Frederick VIII — came Alexandra, William, Dagmar, Thyra, and Waldemar. During their infancy and youth a condition far from opulence governed their daily routine. Reminiscent gossip will have it that the now Queen of Great Britain and the Dowager Empress of Russia were obliged to do their own sewing in order to have garments suitable for their needs. A disciplinarian of the first order, when Louise became Queen of Denmark she did not permit her exalted position to interfere with such doctrines of economy as she had cultivated during the less rosy days that preceded her elevation.

It is a curious fact that already some months before King Christian became ruler of Denmark, his second son, William, was proclaimed King of Greece under the name of George. Likewise, the marriage of Alexandra to the then Prince of Wales took place during that same period preceding the accession of Christian IX to the throne of Denmark. Then came the significant event which united Dagmar to the Czar Alexander III. Following this, Princess Thyra married the Duke of Cumberland, the son of the exiled King of Hanover. The youngest son, Prince Waldemar, took as his bride Marie d'Orléans of the French royal line. In 1869 Crown Prince Frederick, now the King of Denmark, was married to Princess Louisa, daughter of Carl XIV, of Sweden and Norway.

Many grandchildren grew up to bless with their almost constant presence the family circle presided over by King Christian and Queen Louise. To name a few of those who have stood conspicuous in the public eye, Nicholas II of Russia is the son of that favorite daughter of the royal

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couple, Dagmar, Dowager Empress of the Russian Empire; while Haakon VII, of Norway, who was chosen ruler of the Norwegians, was Prince Charles of Denmark, the second son of the present King. The relationship, however, reaches almost every court in Europe; and the record which the late Queen Louise left behind, as an evidence of her skill at matchmaking, shows that it was not for nothing that she had had bestowed upon her the title of "Mother-in-Law of Europe." It was due to her remarkable knowledge of men and things that her children attained such eminence among the leaders of nations. Danish success abroad owes her a considerable debt of gratitude.

It was Queen Louise who stood as the power behind King Christian, even long before the kingly office had been bestowed upon him. With a prescience worthy of a seer, she scanned the European chessboard of the future, and calculated in advance what would be the best move from the standpoint of matrimonial combinations. Her intuitions did not play her false; and when at her death, in 1898, there stood gathered at her bedside her children and grandchildren, the Queen had the satisfaction of knowing that, when she should be no more, history would see to it that the Danish lineage should not be forgotten. She had united Europe through family ties, and made peace a stronger factor in the affairs of the Continent.

No biographical sketch of the late King Christian can be complete without some reference to what Queen Louise meant to that remarkable group of royalty at the Danish capital. Enough has been said to show that she was the motive power of many happenings which have become historical. At Fredensborg, for instance, hers was the guiding genius which made of those famous family gatherings political events with which every European statesman had to reckon. It is said of Bismarck that he found in Queen Louise the first woman who could bid him defiance even more successfully than the skilled diplomatists with whom he was wont to fence continually. The Danish Queen never forgot that it was the Iron Chancellor who spurred on William of Prussia to wage war against the little country to the north, and that thus was brought about the loss of Schleswig-Holstein.

When Alexander III of Russia became such a frequent visitor to Fredensborg, what a satisfaction it must have been to his sagacious mother-in-law to know that she had as her ally the then mightiest ruler in the world! Would a Bismarck now dare to arise and point to Denmark as a fertile field for spoliation? In fact, it will forever remain one of the unwritten chapters of history that the peace of Europe was maintained largely through the influence of the late Queen Louise of Denmark. While the Czar of Russia, the then Princess of Wales, the King of Greece, and the

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many other relatives of the Queen played the simple life on their visits to Fredensborg, affairs of state formed a not inconsequential part of the programme during those idyllic summer months in Hamlet's land. From the royal castle there sprang a wave of confidence which soon communicated itself to the Danish nation. It was hope restored to a point where no enemy was feared. That royal family circle over which Queen Louise presided with such dignity and grace was ample guarantee that henceforth Danish territory should be inviolable.

Rumor had it during the Russo-Japanese war that had Queen Louise lived she would never have permitted her grandson to engage in that deplorable struggle. She would have gone far behind the arguments of the Czar's advisers; and assuredly she would have found the remedy which would have made possible the maintenance of good relations without the sacrifice of honor on the part of either nation. But the most astute woman diplomatist since the days when the court of France furnished such shining examples of the kind did not live to witness the demoralization of an army which until then had held all Europe in awe. She was spared a humiliation which would have proved a crushing blow to her pride as the mother-in-law of the Czar of All the Russias.

The golden-wedding anniversary of the late King and Queen of Denmark was celebrated on May 26, 1892. This event was the culminating demonstration of the affection which the people bore to the royal couple. The festivities in Copenhagen were conducted on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. Throughout the provinces, likewise, the day was observed with special exercises. The school-children of the entire country sent their felicitations in the form of words and beautiful ornaments; and every great European capital felt an interest in the Danish celebration which rounded out half a century of married life with never a single cloud to blur the matrimonial horizon. That the death of his beloved Queen in 1898 must have appeared to the bereaved monarch as the beginning of the end there can be no doubt, although he revered her memory in silence for fear of paining others to whom she had meant so much.

While the passing of Christian IX found him in the possession of his people's love and confidence without a single exception, the same condition did not obtain when, as the successor to Frederick VII, he ascended the Danish throne in 1863. Personally, Prince Christian was not objectionable to the masses, who knew him by reputation to be fair-minded and willing to follow the dictates of his own conscience. But it was exactly because of this inherent quality in the make-up of the new ruler that the Danes viewed him somewhat askance. It would have been the same, however, had any other individual been the subject of scrutiny as concerned the occupancy of the throne which that best-beloved of Danish monarchs, Frederick VII,

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had made synonymous with popular participation in the affairs of the government.

The war broke out, and at the head of his faithful troops the new King of Denmark went to the front to stay the advance of the southern enemy. The world knows the result of that unequal conflict. Despite the bravest resistance by the Danish soldiers, the fortunes of battle finally went against them. But while the loss of Schleswig-Holstein proved a grievous blow to the little nation, something of immense consequence to the country sprang from the conflict which had virtually been forced upon Denmark. The people became convinced that Christian IX stood willing to sacrifice his own life as readily as did the private soldier. He was a born commander; of that there could be no doubt. He did his part nobly, as it concerned saving Danish territory from complete spoliation.

The political unrest which seized upon the nation following the war with Prussia and Austria has sometimes been blamed upon Christian IX. It should be recalled that the duchies of Holstein, Lauenberg, and Schleswig were part of the dominions of King Frederick VII; but, since the extinction of his dynasty was virtually accomplished with his death, it was argued by Prussia that the rights of succession in these provinces no longer belonged to the royal Danish house. Although his father had for a consideration resigned his rights to the duchies, the young Duke of Augustenburg claimed them as his inheritance. Both Prussia and Austria backed him in this pretension. Denmark refused to yield; the war broke out; and while England and France had been relied upon to come to the aid of the Danes in such an emergency, that little country had to fight single-handed the two great military nations of the Continent. Therefore, because Christian IX had been unable to summon to his assistance those whose promises were not fulfilled, popular opinion judged him in part responsible.

That this argument was not well founded, Danish historians have since recorded to the satisfaction of the whole country. Something of an entirely different nature was at the bottom of the distrust shown to the new régime. Political agitators whose first contentions cannot be gainsaid, had begun those aggressive campaigns directed not so much against the throne as against the bureaucracy which attempted to introduce reactionary methods. The country would not stand an interpretation of political liberty short of what Frederick had meant it to be when he gave Denmark her Constitution. The provincially exclusive atmosphere in which King Christian had been brought up did not accord with what the masses now claimed as their prerogative; so that, when a new electoral law went into effect in 1866, it was less liberal in its tendency than King Frederick's proclamation which it was meant to supplant.

Assuredly, during the later years of his reign Christian IX must fre-

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quently have asked himself why he opposed so persistently and so long the attempts of the Liberals to gain the concessions which finally came to them. Ministry after ministry upheld the reactionary policy, apparently with the sanction of the King. The cabinet of which Premier Estrup stood at the head for almost eighteen years was an example of what the liberty-loving Danes had to content themselves with during that period. The lower house, the Folksthing, stood in strenuous opposition to the Landsthing, which represented the nobility. Things even proceeded so far that King Christian, always under the inspiration of Estrup, went over the heads of the parliamentary majority and issued provisional budgets in direct violation of the Constitution. Not until 1894, when Premier Estrup was forced to resign because of an overwhelming popular demand, did this state of affairs cease.

The political conflicts which rent the country during that momentous period were in reality blessings in disguise. Liberalism, as opposed to the reactionary Moderate party, was being trained in a school of experience without which it would have been unable to hold itself in check. The agrarian movement went hand-in-hand with this political education, and throughout the country districts enlightenment sprang into full bloom. The farmers gradually took possession of the governmental reins through the representatives which they sent to the Danish Congress. The Leftists were reaping the reward of their labors. And then came the final victory, when King Christian dismissed the last Moderate cabinet and chose his advisers from among the Liberal ranks. It was the institution of the cabinet which will be known in history as "The Farmers' Cabinet," and with slight changes of personnel it is to-day entrenched as strongly as when the members took the oath of office more than twelve years ago.

With all this evidence at hand anent Christian's policy during the fight for complete political freedom, there is still room for the assertion that his purpose was essentially to maintain a just poise as concerned the battle of parties for control. He would have been little less than human had not his natural inclinations been in the direction of the established order of things. To plunge head-foremost into the vortex of iconoclastic aspiration, as he saw it, could hardly be expected of one whose whole training had been disciplinarian to the point of severity. And that, nevertheless, King Christian succeeded in holding the respect of those most strenuously opposed to the policy which he represented is the best argument in favor of a personality so eminently lovable.

The Denmark of to-day is a prosperous country. In every effort to redeem within the loss sustained by the nation from without, the late King Christian was a conspicuous factor. He was first and foremost in fostering the export trade after the farmer had turned his resources into a

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veritable gold mine through an intelligent understanding of the art of agriculture and of utilizing its by-products. Danish butter has become famous the world over. The industrial standing of the country among the nations is an accomplished fact. Prosperity reigns in city and in village. The literature and art of Denmark have passed the boundaries of the land and wrought benefit to others. Names like those of Brandes and his co-workers link themselves significantly with that of so eminent a figure as the late Professor Finsen in the domain of science. In all these endeavors Christian IX took his place naturally at the head, bearing in mind constantly the national motto of "One for all, and all for one."

Native-born Americans who have come in contact with the Danes settled in the United States need not be told what sort of citizens the former countrymen of King Christian make in their new-found homes on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. Throughout the Western States, the Scandinavians have been instrumental in building up the communities. The Danish-Americans, no less than their kinsmen, the Swedes and the Norwegians, are among the stanchest supporters of republican institutions. It was the constant pleasure of the late King Christian to meet prosperous visitors from afar who related to him in person how they had met success away from their ever-beloved native land of Denmark. Christian IX was most thoroughly posted as regards the various industries and occupations in which his former subjects were forging to the front abroad; and he had often expressed the wish to see for himself how Danish pluck and intelligence had conquered in spite of the odds against the new-comer equipped with no other capital than health and courage. It is proverbial among Europeans that the Dane is blessed by nature with a constitution which is the envy of other nations. Assuredly, King Christian proved such an example. His mentality did not contain the fluctuating characteristics that in some communities are classed as genius; but the life he lived was one of extraordinary usefulness. He died at peace with nations and individuals.

In accepting as his birthright the royal mantle of his parent, Frederick VIII has before him a career already begun in part a number of years ago. It was his duty as crown prince frequently to act as regent during the late King's absence from Denmark. The new ruler is thoroughly at home in all that pertains to the governmental machinery. His constant attendance during the parliamentary sessions taught him the science of differing from your neighbor without evincing too bitter an enmity. As was the case with King Christian, the then crown prince aimed to hold to the middle path. Stepping naturally, therefore, into the position provided for him by the law of the land, it may not now be amiss to inquire as to what are the capabilities of Frederick VIII, and whether he will carry forward successfully the work inaugurated so auspiciously by the lamented Chris-

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tian. It is not only the future of Denmark which is concerned. European tranquillity may depend to a considerable extent upon the attitude of King Frederick in his relations with the heads of other nations.

Family ties, as in the case of his late parents, will, beyond a doubt, constitute an important factor in the régime of King Frederick. As a daughter of the late King Charles XV of Sweden, the new Queen of Denmark will cement even more closely than before the friendship existing between the royal houses of the two nations. And as for Norway, the fact that King Frederick's son is now the crowned head of the newest European kingdom should be a sufficient guarantee that the best of feeling will continue to exist between the Danes and the Norwegians. The greater Scandinavia, which the late King Christian believed at heart to be the future salvation of the North, may now become a reality through the formation of an alliance which will enable each of the countries concerned to appear of higher importance in the eyes of the world at large.

The elevation of Prince Charles of Denmark to the Norwegian throne as King Haakon VIII could never have been accomplished but for the fact that the late Christian IX saw more clearly than others the importance of granting his consent. It is doubtful whether the present King of Denmark felt altogether at ease when the proposition was advanced for his son to become the ruler of the country recently a part of Sweden-Norway. Swedish feeling ran very high at the time of the separation, which was instituted by the Norwegians. There was considerable risk attached when a step in the wrong direction might precipitate what for more than a century all concerned had studiously avoided. But once more it speaks for the high esteem in which the late King Christian was held, that when the matter was put squarely before him and he said to his grandson that he should go, and God be with him, no dissenting voice rose in protest. The aged monarch knew what was best, it was agreed; and King Haakon's coronation proved that the world accepts the selection as the best possible. With an English princess as the Queen of Norway, the integrity of Norway is so secure that no nation would care to test the country's right as an independent monarchy.

Recurring to what may be the foreign policy of Frederick VIII, there can be no doubt whatever that in the main he will adhere to the principles established by his father. Christian's friendship for the Kaiser was very outspoken during his later years. An annual visitor to Wiesbaden, the Germans had formed a genuine attachment for the aged Danish King, whose simplicity stood in contrast to the pomp and military display usually accompanying their own ruler when on his travels. King Christian, however, recognized in the cleverness and dash of his fellow-monarch a necessary accompaniment to a nature which is the personification of royal activity.

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His own years and his own inclinations, it is true, carried him in another direction. Notwithstanding which, he admired William II as a character quite out of the ordinary run.

The admiration which Frederick VIII holds for the German Emperor has been commented on frequently. Not so very long ago the Danes as a whole did not look with favor on this condition of affairs. The then crown prince was sometimes accused of bending his knee to the ruler of a country considered the sworn enemy of Denmark. But gradually the nation awoke to the fact that diplomatic shrewdness guided the crown prince in what he did. And now there is but one opinion as to what is the best course to follow: Germany's friendship and the Kaiser's good-will are well worth cultivating from the Danish point of view.

Emperor William, it can be said, has succeeded in overcoming the national antipathy which the Danes for so many years bore against the Germans. But it behooves King Frederick to keep a close watch on his personal feelings, lest his predilection for the war lord lead him into strange paths where international dangers and pitfalls abound. William II, it cannot be gainsaid, seeks friends both for their own sake and for the value they may possess as prospective allies. The neutrality that Christian IX fostered with the fervor of a religious belief has been too successful from the standpoint of Danish inviolability to be thrust ruthlessly aside. There can be little doubt that when the next great European war breaks out, Germany, as one of the contending parties, and the leading character in the drama, will want as many supporters as possible among the lesser nations.

England, on the other hand, is no less interested in retaining her long-established friendship with the Danes. The success of the respective great Powers, in a war, would depend in many ways upon the attitude of the smaller countries. As concerns the territories intervening between the warring nations, their hour of peril will be at hand when the long-anticipated conflict begins. It will be for Frederick VIII to show his people whether his leadership is sufficient to steer the ship of state successfully through the European storm. In holding close to that unwritten alliance which binds the three Scandinavian countries to neutrality will rest the safety of Denmark under her new King.

One more word as to the closed régime and the starting of the new. While the late King never saw his opportunity to visit the United States, his son may carry out a plan long cherished. In closer touch with this country even than his father, King Frederick very recently expressed the wish that he might see for himself how excellently the Danes have borne the banner of reputation into the Western world. Commerce with this country has increased to a very great extent within the last few years.

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The Scandinavian-American steamship line has recently been augmented by many fine new vessels. Should the King of Denmark decide upon such a trip across the Atlantic, there awaits him a welcome here which the Danish-Americans would not be alone in tendering. Among the many felicitations that reached him on his ascension to the throne, none struck a more sympathetic chord than the message of good-will which came from the United States. Tinged with regret because of the noble character which had passed away, it held out the hope that the successor to the honors would earn and retain in equal measure the love of the nation and of the world at large.

That King Frederick will strive with all his might to prove worthy of the task assigned to him, there is every evidence. His past performances are an augury of his intentions. The curtain has rung down on a royal career the counterpart to which may long be sought in vain; but Denmark takes comfort in the knowledge that the new King has within him the identical strain. Many monuments will be erected to the memory of Christian IX; but giving his people the best of which he is capable will be the highest tribute the son can pay to his parent.

JULIUS MORITZEN.

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ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF THE RECLAMATION SERVICE.

No other act of Congress in recent years has been so radical in its departure from old methods of governmental administration, and no other has been of greater service to the far West or more promising of real good, than the Reclamation Act of June 17, 1902. The newness of the act consists in the governmental policy inaugurated for the disposition of public lands, on the one hand, and the new species of government service to the people, on the other. While the act itself is not socialistic because of limitations set upon it, it is good evidence of what a government, if it be wisely and intelligently administered, may do for the development of the resources of a country. It is an indication, too, that our land policy in the past has not been all that it might have been in the development of the country and in the wise conservation of the means of national wealth and prosperity.

The ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory suggested the general policy of the Government in the disposition of the public domain. But the report to Congress of Alexander Hamilton in 1790 is generally considered the foundation of the policy for the distribution of the public lands. He recommended, among other things, that large tracts of land be sold to individuals and companies, and small tracts of one hundred acres each to actual settlers. He recommended that a general land-office be established at the seat of national Government. However, the plans of Hamilton were slow in maturing, a general land-office not being established until twenty-two years after the report, although district land-offices were established in 1810 in the Northwest Territory. While Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania advocated, in the first Congress of 1789, that a land-office should be established for the benefit of pioneer settlers in the West, the controlling motive in the disposition of the public lands was that of raising revenue for the expenses of the national Government. At first, the smallest tract that could be sold was six hundred and forty acres. In 1804 the minimum was made three hundred and twenty acres, in 1820 it was eighty acres, and subsequently the minimum was set at forty acres. Until the Pre-emption Act of 1841, the importance of providing homes for all the people who desired to locate seemed to have been made secondary to raising revenue.

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The policy of distributing lands to home-seekers and settlers finally triumphed and became the ruling idea of the distribution of public lands, although it has frequently been widely diverted from its primary motive. As a departure from the methods of land-holding practised by the various European nations, the United States conceived the idea of giving to every individual who desired, a title to a part of the public domain. The policy was to divide the territory into small farms, which were to be occupied and tilled by the owners, in order to give the citizens free access to the soil and to encourage the development of the resources of the country and provide occupation for its numerous citizens. Acting on the policy that there was land enough and to spare, and that it was an advantage to the nation to have the land occupied and tilled, the Government has always been lavish in its disposition of public lands. This is evidenced by the Pre-emption and Homestead Acts, as well as by various other laws which have made it easy for the citizen to take and to hold land.

Whatever knowledge the people of the United States had of the territory west of the Mississippi at the time of the formation of the Union, few, if any, thought it would ever be a part of the United States, and the few who knew anything of it considered it to be a vast and worthless desert. Statesmen could not have known, at that early period, of the extensive country that has since been called the arid or semi-arid region of America. Even after the accession of the West they could not have been aware of the importance of water to the possibilities of the country. Had they known this as well as it is now known, no doubt the early land laws would have provided for the disposition, distribution, and use of the waters of semi-arid America.

Economically considered, water should be treated as being in the same category as land; and if the Federal Government assumes the right and duty to control the public lands, it ought likewise to assume control of the public water. Although it has reserved the right to pronounce any streams navigable, and to manage them in the interests of commerce, it has never attempted until recently to exercise any control over water in its economic distribution. Had it done so before the beginning of the use of water for irrigation purposes, it would have saved a vast deal of confusion, owing to the conflicting laws of the various States and Territories in which irrigation is now carried on. As it is, the public land is controlled by the Federal Government, and the water in streams by the individual States.

As the Inter-State Commerce Act of 1887 became necessary because the railroads passed from State to State, so is federal control of the supply of irrigation water necessary so long as streams pass from one State to

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another. The evils already engendered through the practices of the legislatures of the various States and Territories of the Union will be overcome with difficulty, even though Congress should pass general laws relating to the use of water and its disposition and distribution. The old idea in common law that each individual along the course of a stream has a right to a portion of the water therein, has come directly in conflict with the new system or theory, backed largely by the statutes of the various States, regarding priority of right. The struggles of individuals, companies, and States over these water rights have been numerous. The vast number of cases in litigation throughout the West to-day show the question to be still unsettled. How else can it be done than to have the Government take possession of the water in any drainage basin and distribute it equitably to parties living within that basin? Nor would it be necessary to confine its regulations to lakes, rivers, etc.; but the underflow should be subject to its control as well.

But what has the Federal Government done recently by way of reclamation? The Act provides:

> That all moneys received from the sale and disposal of public lands in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming, beginning with the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and one, including the surplus of fees and commissions in excess of allowances to registrars and receivers, and excepting the five per centum of the proceeds of the sale of the public lands in the above States set aside by law for educational and other purposes, shall be and the same are hereby reserved, set aside, and appropriated, as a special fund in the Treasury to be known as the "reclamation fund," to be used in the examination and survey for and the construction and maintenance of irrigation works for the storage, diversion, and development of waters for the reclamation of arid and semi-arid lands in the said States and Territories, and for the payment of all other expenditures provided for in this Act.

Under this Act a fund of over thirty millions has already been accumulated for expenditure; and plans for the irrigation of nearly two million acres have been consummated. Many projects have been actually undertaken. It is estimated by the census of 1900 that the average value of each irrigated acre in the United States is forty-seven dollars, and that the average annual income is fifteen dollars. It appears, from recent investigation, that this is a very low estimate of value and income; but upon this basis the present projects would add to the wealth of the United States the sum of $87,373,000, and to the national income $27,885,000 per annum. The following table shows the present progress of the work;

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PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

STATE	PROJECT	AMOUNT SET ASIDE.	ACRES IRRIGABLE.
Arizona	Salt River	$3,600,000	180,000
Colorado	Uncompaghre	2,500,000	125,000
Idaho	Minidoka	1,300,000	60,000
Nebraska & Wyo.	North Platte	3,500,000	100,000
Nevada	Truckee-Carson	2,740,000	100,000
New Mexico	Hondo	280,000	10,000
South Dakota	Belle Fourche	2,100,000	80,000
Wyoming	Shoshone	2,250,000	125,000

PROJECTS ON WHICH BIDS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED.

Calif. & Ariz.	Yuma	$3,000,000	85,000
Montana	Huntley	900,000	35,000
Mont. & S. Dak.	Fort Buford	1,800,000	60,000

PROJECTS APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

Kansas	Garden City (pumping)	$250,000	10,000
Oregon-Cal.	Klamath Falls	1,000,000	236,000
Oregon	Malheur	2,250,000	100,000
Montana	Milk River	1,000,000	200,000
North Dakota	Bismarck	300,000	15,000
North Dakota	Buford-Trenton (pump.)	550,000	18,000
Washington	Palouse	2,800,000	80,000
Idaho	Payette-Boise	11,000,000	372,000

The policy of the Government has been to improve, so far as possible, the public domain in the arid and semi-arid regions. While nearly all the public lands of the United States have been taken up or filed on, there remain four hundred and seventy millions of acres belonging to the public domain in this far Western territory. This is exclusive of all forest and Indian reservations. It is estimated that fifty million acres of this land may eventually be brought under irrigation. In the entire arid and semi-arid regions it is estimated that the total amount that can be irrigated is one hundred million acres. Of this, nearly ten million acres are already under cultivation. If the Government can reclaim fifty million acres of comparatively worthless Government land and make its value fifty dollars per acre, on the average, the wealth of the nation will be increased two billion five hundred million dollars; and if, with the aid of private enterprise, the amount cultivated may be made to reach one hundred million acres, the national wealth would thus be increased five billions. Hence, it is easy to see that the Government is engaging in no small undertaking.

The Government proceeds to make preliminary surveys by competent engineers, who estimate the water supply and the cost of building dams, reservoirs, and ditches. Their report goes to the Government Board or Commission to determine the feasibility of the project. If favorable, they so report to the Secretary of the Interior. If the report meets with his approval, funds are set apart out of the Reclamation Fund for carrying on the work, and contracts are let for construction.

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The Secretary of the Interior also determines the maximum amount of land that may be entered; that is, whether the settler may take forty, eighty, or one hundred and sixty acres. The Reclamation Act provides that the land shall be entered under the Homestead Act, and that the individual landholder shall be allowed to purchase water rights to a tract not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres. Thus, in the Yuma project, the farm unit will probably be forty acres, while in the Uncompaghre Valley project it will be from forty to one hundred and sixty acres, and in the Truckee-Carson project in Nevada it will be eighty acres.

The cost of irrigation construction carried on by the Government is to be paid by the users of the water in ten annual instalments. The cost varies in proportion to the difficulty of construction and the accessibility and amount of the available water. The estimated cost of water at the Yuma will be forty dollars per acre; at the Uncompaghre, thirty; the Huntley, twenty-six; Hondo, twenty-eight; Fort Buford, thirty-one; North Platte, thirty-five; Truckee-Carson, twenty-six; Payette-Boise, thirty; and Belle Fourche, thirty-two. In order to carry out the plan, Water Users' Associations are formed for the local administration, and for the distribution and use of water. After the first cost of construction of the irrigation works has been paid, the owners of the water rights have no further expense except the annual payment for keeping up the water supply, which includes repairs, cleaning of ditches, and the expense of distributing the water. The permanency of the construction and the thoroughness of the Government work will reduce the annual cost to a minimum.

The Reclamation Act does not permit people to take up land in an irrigation district without taking and paying for the water right also. This provision distributes water and land together, as it should do. Had it been possible to pursue this policy from the first, it would have saved much trouble and would have added millions of dollars to the wealth of the nation. The law also requires continuous residence on the land from the first; and this removes the speculative element which has proved so baneful to the whole public-land system. Every precaution is taken to eliminate fraudulent procedure. Had the administration of the public domain under the old laws been as careful, it would have prevented the land grabbing which has been a dark blot on the settlement of public lands in the West.

But why should the Government have undertaken this irrigation project? Why not have left it to private investment? Because private investment had about reached the limit of its development. Irrigation began by the settler taking a small rivulet from the flowing stream and irrigating a few acres. Following this stage came the irrigation of ranches by individual enterprise. Then came a period of development of the large water companies and irrigation companies for the extensive supply of water.

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Nearly all of these lost money, and many of them failed; but their irrigation problems were usually small compared with the great undertakings of the Government. Besides the immense cost of these projects, the long period of construction, and the subsequent period of ten years before the first cost is finally paid are great obstacles to prevent the carrying on of the work by private enterprise. Thus, it is estimated that the Salt River project will be completed in 1908, the Yuma project in 1907, the Uncompaghre in 1909, the Minidoka in 1906, the Huntley in 1907, the North Platte in 1907, the Truckee-Carson in 1909, the Hondo in 1906, the Fort Buford in 1907, the Belle Fourche in 1906, and the Shoshone in 1908. But the expense will not all be paid to the Government until ten years after these dates. The future success of irrigation requires a gigantic enterprise supported by millions of wealth, which shall equalize the burdens and benefits of the development of the resources of the soil. It can no longer be done by individuals or by groups of individuals, but only through the unifying and directing agency of the Government. It is the true province of government to aid citizens wherein they cannot help themselves.

The management of the water is finally given back into the hands of the people, where it rightly belongs. The Government becomes merely a temporary promoter of wealth, aiding and abetting its citizens in legitimate industry. The sole objects of the Government are to give the people a chance to realize the benefits of the public domain, and to add to the national wealth. It is interesting to note, however, that the Government has gone farther in this industry-aiding enterprise than in any other. The building of the great dams, reservoirs, ditches, and aqueducts represents a vast outlay, and necessitates many subsidiary enterprises, such as the building of plants for the manufacture of cement, the building of saw-mills for furnishing lumber for houses, dams, and reservoirs. It brings the Government into a new rôle, for in every way it seeks to accomplish its ends with the smallest cost to the people who purchase the land and the water rights. It may save millions of dollars by carrying on its own independent enterprises.

To develop a community of small farms is to create an ideal democracy. With the population living in close proximity, good schools and churches are possible. The sparsely settled community suffers from a low grade of education and from religious destitution. The social status of agricultural communities is greatly enhanced by a comparatively dense settlement of a farming population. The modern conveniences and comforts of civilized life appear, such as gas, electric light, telephones, electric and steam transportation, and modern dwellings. Means of culture, such as libraries, scientific societies, lectures, theatres and operas, are made possible. The judicial and punitive machinery is perfected, and the political life improved.

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The opportunity for land-holding by the man of small means grows gradually less. While land with water rights may be expensive, the advantage gained is in large returns from a small acreage. Ordinarily, forty acres under a good irrigation system are sufficient for successful and remunerative farming. The thickly settled community, with practically the same interests, makes a high state of civilization possible. The socializing process is intense; the common interests bring the people closer together and unite them in social improvement.

Successful farming by irrigation requires a high degree of intelligence. The selection of the crops that are likely to be the most remunerative, of the most appropriate variety of seed, of the method of tilling the soil, of machinery, etc., as well as the economic use of water — all these call for the exercise of intelligence equal to that required in any other occupation. Experience in irrigation shows that much has to be learned about the right use of water; for crops in irrigated districts are more frequently drowned out than dried out. But the certainty of a crop is what makes larger expenditure by the farmer profitable. One of the chief advantages of farming by irrigation is the certainty of the results which follow the judicious outlay of money and labor. The markets also require close study and business ability for their successful exploitation. However, the great demand for agricultural products in the arid and semi-arid districts makes the market practically sure.

On the whole it may be said that intensive agriculture is a process of manufacturing products by the aid of nature. The old method of extensive agriculture, by which large areas are cultivated in the easiest manner possible, is passing away. The modern method is to make each acre yield the largest possible returns. Irrigation has done much to show the possibilities of intensive agriculture. It will be noticed that, by irrigation, the average annual income is over thirty per cent on the value of the land; in many instances it reaches over one hundred per cent.

To take the bare desert, with scarcely any sign of grass, tree, or shrub, and, within a few years, to transform it into a garden, is one of the marvels of modern agriculture. The writer visited the Imperial Valley in San Diego County, California, last summer, and beheld one of these marvellous transformations by the application of water to one of the most repulsive and forbidding deserts of the West. It is almost incredible what has been accomplished within three years. Flourishing farms of alfalfa, wheat, barley, milo maize, and fruit greet the eye where four years before there was only glistening sand, dotted here and there with bunches of sage and an occasional friendly mesquite. It is no wonder that people grow enthusiastic over the problems of irrigation! Those who do not believe in the reclamation service of the Government would,

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as a result of a few months' touring through the irrigation districts, completely change their minds.

One of the great advantages of the development of irrigation is the support it gives to manufacturing and railroad extension in the arid regions. The mining industry has just begun to develop. The great treasures of the mountains have not yet been uncovered. While the income from mining in the arid regions is over $160,000,000 per annum, this is small in comparison to what the future will yield. While there are now over 50,000 miles of railroad in this region, the future development of railroads will be great. Add to these the fact of the tremendous water power available in the mountain streams for manufacturing purposes, and it is easy to see that this vast territory of the West, once considered unfit for habitation, will absorb all the agricultural products that can be raised in it, without serious competition with the great farms in the humid regions.

The thoroughness of the Government work in building dams, reservoirs, and aqueducts, as an object-lesson to the public, is worth all it costs. Economy of water supply is the vital phase of irrigation; and thus far, in most districts, the lesson has been poorly learned. It frequently happens that too much water is used, and this is not only an extravagant waste, but it destroys the crops and sometimes ruins the soil by forcing the alkali to the surface. Moreover, the waste water injures other sections than the ones from which it is drained.

The use of reservoirs for the storage of flood waters is the objective work of the Government. This will greatly enlarge the possible area of cultivation, and, at the same time, furnish a reserve supply of water to be used when the streams are low, and when it is most needed. The impulse given to irrigation by the Reclamation Act is far-reaching in its consequences, not only in furnishing a larger and more constant water supply and an increase in the acreage, but in improving, in many places, the methods of farming, through the introduction of a more scientific handling of the water. Scientific agriculture is making a great forward movement.

While a large acreage in the middle West is capable of increased production through more scientific methods of agriculture, and a large amount of neglected land will be brought under cultivation, the agricultural impulse, in the near future, will be felt most in the arid regions. The region west of the Mississippi is destined to be the scene of great industrial activity. The area of industrial expansion is rapidly shifting from the valley of the Mississippi to the far West.

F. W. BLACKMAR.

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THE WOMEN OF JAPAN.

In many ways our country has been fortunate enough to win the good opinion of foreign critics. One of them has said: "The Lord has never made anything more beautiful than your Inland Sea." And of that old-time, half-smiling culture of Nippon which had penetrated to the very bottom of society, another has been gracious enough to say: "Why, your coolies and jinrikisha men speak a language fit only for the court of Louis XIV." But what of our women?

M. Pierre Loti, the French Academician, seems never to have grown weary of writing of "those singular dolls with flat profiles," of "the little eyes drawn to the temples, little eyes as of cats." He has said that "the Japanese women of all classes are small of body and mind, artificial and affected." But not content with this superficial criticism of the women of Japan, he once endeavored to show how learned he could really be in the following:

> Their religion must appear very complicated and confused to their giddy little brains, when even the most learned priests of their country lose themselves in their cosmogonies, their symbols, and their metamorphoses of gods, and in the millinery chaos upon which the Buddhism of India has so strangely foisted itself without destroying anything.

It will appear from the above that even the prose of M. Loti sometimes becomes muddy. If one would write simply and clearly, he must first be master of his subject. He must know what he is writing about. But that is neither here nor there. Does not this academician know that the three representatives of Japanese scholarship who were selected to go from our country to India to make the first investigation of the philosophic Buddhism were the women Jenshinni, Jenzoni, and Keizenni? But why should he have burdened himself with a tedious historical study, when he could with so much comfort and ease tell the whole world that he knew it all? Now, our good M. Loti has seen a treaty port or two in Nippon; and he also saw those outlandish first few balls *à l'Européenne* held in Tokio at the Rokumeikwan, when Western civilization was, like young wine, mounting to the head of the nation, when Count Inoue was happy with his whitewash diplomacy. All these things were burlesques, which murdered the classic grace of our women and their costumes, and only succeeded in caricaturing the vulgarities of the West. To a woman of Nagasaki, on whom a boatman-coolie would scarcely have bestowed a

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passing glance, the learned academician devoted himself for the purpose of making an impression. If we take him at his word, there is no doubt that his efforts were successful; and he took occasion to report his success to the world by means of a popular novel.

In reply to my comments some persons might ask: Is it not a rather original idea to select M. Loti as a true representative of the West, and base thereupon the charge that all the Western nations are libelling the women of Japan? In answer to this I am prepared to quote from the writings of a Christian gentleman, a missionary and an educator; and I have culled the following from a new book of his, advertised quite extensively — doubtless with his knowledge, if not his consent — as the most recent and complete authority on Nippon and things Nipponese:

> In no regard, perhaps, is the contrast between the East and the West more striking than in the respective ideas concerning woman and marriage. The one counts woman the equal if not the superior of man; the other looks down upon her as man's inferior in every respect. . . . In the one, the wife at once takes her place as the queen of the home; in the other, she enters as the domestic for her husband and his parents. . . . In the one, the wife is the 'helpmate'; in the other she is the man's 'plaything'. . . . In the ideal home of the one, the wife is the object of the husband's constant affection and solicitous care; in the ideal home of the other, she ever waits upon her lord, serves his food for him, and faithfully sits up for him at night, however late his return may be. . . . The one considers profound love as the only true condition of marriage; the other thinks of love as essentially impure, beneath the dignity of a true man, and not to be taken into consideration when marriage is contemplated.

That, perhaps, is the reason why the Eldorado of women, called America, the home of this Christian gentleman, has never seen a woman in the presidential chair, not one; and the history not only of America, but of the entire West, seems quite unable to give us a single name that might be placed side by side with that of Hojo Masako. And who, pray, answered to the name of Hojo Masako? A woman of Nippon — and in her day there were many men in Nippon. She lived in the Augustan age of Nippon statesmanship. And permit me to remark, that I have not cited the name of a number of empresses who have sat upon the throne of the Mikado. Does this glimpse into our history assure you that with us woman is inferior to man?

I am not saying that a pair of eyes — especially a pair of imported ones engaged in collecting data in support of certain conclusions about the women of Nippon formed in the United States or in Europe — focussed upon a certain corner of our social life, might not see, to the entire satisfaction and comfort of the critic, that in Nippon a woman is a "man's inferior in every respect." But, the reverend authority to the contrary notwithstanding, our historians without fail go to two sources whenever they wish to trace the greatness of a historic character or to

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account for a great historic event. And these two sources are — wife and mother. In America, Mary Washington is the mother of George Washington, after all; and to the student of Nippon history, Kusuncki Masatsura, to whom we have erected a temple, and whose memory we worship as the god of Nippon patriotism, is the son of his mother.

In Nippon, where, according to the reverend author, the wife enters as the domestic of her husband and his parents, the Lord of Inaba — unquestionably one of the ablest men of his day — is remembered in history as the husband of Kasuganotsubone. In the latter, the founder of the Shogunate, Tokugawa Ieyasu, placed more confidence than in his "Elders." She stood as the embodiment of the highest type of constructive statesmanship in her day. In Nippon, many persons could write many a page on "the unknown husbands of well-known women"; but it would tax the genius of an apologist and something of a sophist to say much about the unknown wives of well-known men, which seems to be a fairly entertaining topic in the happy West, where "the wife at once takes her place as the queen of the home."

To be sure, many great forces in the universe are silent; and the power of the Nippon woman belongs to that distinguished company. To walk boldly in front of her husband in a parade, only would strike her sense of humor. She has frequently seen turkey gobblers, peacocks, and other things that strut; but the sight of them has always tortured her sense of taste and form. Moreover, through her reading of history, and through what she has seen in life, she has become acquainted with the fact that the fashioner of history frequently makes his way behind a mask, and that a great prince often follows his own puppet. Her eyes are always on the real; and she makes liberal tribute to men of the spectacular type.

"Man's plaything!" A student of the shadier side of New York society might find some pertinent meaning in this expression of the reverend critic. Using it as he does, in connection with the Nippon woman, the expression stings us, the hapless males of that land, with an overwhelming irony. Having danced to the pipings of our ladies' wits for some fifteen centuries, we men of Nippon might be permitted to beg for the last grace of burying our humiliations in the shade. It has not been altogether the fault of the men of Nippon that they have spent so much of their time and effort upon the art of war and in the profitless pursuit of gold, and therefore have not had half as much time as our women to devote to the cultivation of the powers and fancies of the mind.

As for the wife serving her husband's food to him and "faithfully sitting up for him at night however late his return may be,"—why should she be censured for such things, if they are quite as pleasant to her as making a lady's maid out of her husband and compelling him to cook his breakfast

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for himself on a winter's morning are to the refined selfishness of the civilized and Christian wife of the West? I venture the offhand assertion that more wives have laid down their lives for their husbands in the heathen city of Yeddo in one year than in all the capitals of Christendom in ten years. The unselfishness of the Nippon woman seems to be quite as marked as the selfishness of her Western sisters. All that I pray is that the authority from whom I have quoted above will prove that my observations have been erroneous.

As if for the purpose of giving a sort of backbone to his story — but certainly not because he felt the need of so doing — the reverend author quotes from "the editor of the 'Japan Mail,'" who "himself married a Japanese woman":

> The woman of Japan is a charming person in many ways — gracious, refined, womanly before everything, sweet-tempered, unselfish, virtuous, a splendid mother, and an ideal wife from the point of view of the master. But she is virtually excluded from the whole intellectual life of the nation. Politics, art, literature, and science are closed books to her. She cannot think logically about any of these subjects, express herself clearly with reference to them, or take an intellectual part in conversations relating to them. She is, in fact, totally disqualified to be her husband's intellectual companion, and the inevitable result is that he despises her.

More's the pity! We have a book called "Genji Monogatari," than which none is more important to us in the entire range of the classic literature of Nippon. The position it occupies in our literature is similar to that occupied by Homer's works in Hellenic literature, and by Shakespeare's works in English literature. May I be permitted to ask these precious foreign critics to name the author of the greatest classic of Nippon? No Baconian controversy has served to cast any doubt upon the authorship. The author of the work was Murasaki Shikibu, a court lady of rank. Seishonagon, another woman of Nippon, wrote the famous "Makura Zoshi," which is classed by many critics as only second to the "Genji Monogatari." A few years ago, the writer happened to be in a certain part of the United States during the time of a drought; and the people flocked into the churches to pray that the gracious heavens might send them rain. In Nippon, many, many years ago, in the days of that historic drought when all the rivers were but the powdered skeletons of the living waters that had been, the people went to a poetess and begged her to address an appeal to heaven. Clad in white, bareheaded, under the cloudless glare of the sun, she read her classic lines; and to-day there are thousands of people — descendants of the simple folk to whom the poetess was gracious — who would swear to you that the sky was so touched by the pathos of her lines and the music of her rhythm that it sent down a perfect flood of rain. As historical record, there is a shrine which the grateful people built in

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honor of the poetess. So transcendent did her poetic gifts seem to her people that they, like the Greeks in their goodly days, begged her to join the company of the immortals. What names, pray, can America give us, out of all her accomplished and enlightened women, that can be placed even within a measurable distance of the heights where stands the name of Koshikibu as a lyric poet? To find one in any way comparable with her, we must go to the one songstress of Greece — Sappho.

A confession, even if good for the soul, is sometimes humiliating. But, since what must be must be, here it is: The brains of Nippon have always been with her women rather than with her men. And what is more humiliating still, is the fact that Nippon women very often outdo their brothers in their own territory. The one in Nippon whose generalship conducted the first successful foreign campaign was the Empress Jingo. Under her victorious banner, the warriors of Nippon marched through Korea on their first foreign campaign. Tomoe, who fought side by side with the famous warrior Yoshinaka, was the peer of any of her soldiers. In all the desperate sieges of the feudal days, the women of the clans, *naginata* (spears) in hand, were always conspicuous for their bravery and fighting qualities. I have already cited the historic case of Hojo Masako. To-day we are very proud to say of Tokugawa Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, that he was the greatest constructive statesman that Nippon has ever seen. Nevertheless, every historian admits that in the building of the House of Tokugawa it is impossible to say how much of its stability and of the profound wisdom of its policy was due to the now famous lady called Kasuganotsubone. Certainly, after the death of Tokugawa Ieyasu, she was the brains of the government. Even in the sad days of the Tokugawa culture, when frivolity in its madness darkened into crime and excesses knew no bounds, one could see the names of Kamei Shoken, Hara Saihin, Yama Saiko, and Cho Koran stand out, with no little lustre, against the sombre background. And they were the names of scholars, women all, especially distinguished for their Chinese culture.

An eminent professor connected with the Imperial University of Tokio, named Basil Hall Chamberlain, is one of the three scholars of foreign birth who can pass the exclusive gateway of Nippon literature, classic and otherwise, without a key and without a pause. I do not know what he thinks of our women to-day, but there was a time when even he allowed himself to write:

> Women are all their lives treated more or less like babies, neither trusted with the independence which our modern manners allow, nor commanding the romantic homage which was woman's dower in Mediæval Europe.

If, in spite of his scholarship, his brain, his opportunity of seeing people

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and things, and his thirty-odd years of experience in Nippon, Prof. Chamberlain was to such an extent misled in his conclusions, it is not at all unnatural that so many other critics — critics with three months' or three years' treaty-port experience — should write such utter nonsense when they pose as judges of Nippon women.

Both Miss Bacon and Mr. Lafcadio Hearn have said many a kindly thing about our women. Both of them have seen the Nippon woman of these modern days — days of transition, days of tangled progress. Not knowing the traditions that have led up to the Nippon woman as she is to-day, they, with all their sympathetic insight, have found not a little difficulty in accounting for those qualities in her that capture the soul. With the exception of these critics and a very few more, all the civilized writers who have hailed from the homeland of gallantry have libelled the Nippon woman; but she has simply smiled sweetly at all that has been said to her discredit.

ADACHI KINNOSUKE.

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